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# USSR Report

SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES

No 4, OCT-NOV-DEC 1985



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USSR REPORT  
 SOCIOLOGICAL STUDIES  
 No 4, OCT-NOV-DEC 1985

[Translation of the Russian-language journal SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE  
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 Sociological Research, USSR Academy of Sciences.]

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## TOWARDS THE 27TH CPSU CONGRESS

### SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL PROGRESS AND IMPROVING THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SOVIET SOCIETY

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(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 3-14

[Article by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences Professor Fridrikh Rafailovich Filippov, Head of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, Social Structure of Soviet Society Department. Author of a number of monographs on problems of social structure and sociology of education]

[Text] The party's strategy of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development on the basis of scientific and technical progress will determine the future basic trends of profound qualitative changes in the entire system of production forces in Soviet society. Investment and structural policy is being restructured: by the end of the 12th 5-Year Plan the production apparatus must be updated by more than one-third. It will include up to 50 percent new equipment (2, p 11). The areas of application of nonmechanized, heavy physical labor, above all, will be steadily reduced. Our country's scientific and technical potential will be developed further. The management of scientific and technical progress will be advanced and its human factor, energized.

How will all of this affect the social structure of Soviet society? On the other hand, to what extent will its changes contribute to the acceleration of scientific and technical progress? What must be done to coordinate qualitative changes in production forces and changes in the social appearance of the social groups of working people? All of these are by no means meaningless problems. The organic interconnection between scientific and technical progress and the country's economic and social development, the significance of which was emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, demands of sociology the comprehensive study not only of today's but also of future problems, particularly those related to the interaction between scientific and technical and social progress, and the task of restructuring the production process and establishing the social homogeneity of society.

Scientific and technical progress effects the social structure of society indirectly, through the system of production relations. "The machine," K. Marx wrote, "is as much an economic category as the ox which pulls the plow. The contemporary use of machines is one of the relations within our

contemporary economic system. However, the method of exploitation of the machine is something entirely different from the machine itself" (1). The notorious "technological determinism," which tries to explain all social changes in terms of the direct impact of equipment and technology on production is alien to Marxist-Leninist sociology. It is only by "crossing" the system of production relations that scientific and technical innovations can trigger changes in the socioclass structure of society. In terms of the contemporary stage in the development of the socialist system in our country, when relations of ownership of means of production (the differentiating role of the two forms of socialist ownership) are increasingly assuming a secondary position, this means that the influence of scientific and technical progress on the social structure is achieved indirectly, above all through changes in the social organization of socialist labor.

The party considers the study of the dialectics of production forces and production relations in socialist society one of the key areas of the social sciences. In his report to the December 1984 All-Union Practical Science Conference, M.S. Gorbachev said: "Life teaches us to consider with the greatest possible feeling of responsibility the objective dialectics of development of production forces and production relations as the most important source of acceleration of the socioeconomic development of society. This makes it necessary promptly to identify and resolve contradictions which arise in this area. Naturally, under socialism they are not antagonistic. However, if obsolete elements of production relations are preserved, a worsening of the economic and social situation may occur" (3, p 13). Current and long-term processes occurring within the social structure of our society must be studied from the viewpoint of this methodological concept.

During the 11th 5-Year Plan homogeneity in Soviet society based on the attitude of social groups toward means of production increased somewhat. In 1984 90.2 percent of the employed population in the USSR consisted of workers and employees, i.e., people whose labor was tied exclusively to the national ownership of means of production (89.5 percent at the start of the 5-year plan) (4, p 179). The working class increased by 2.5 million people (4, pp 180-181). Compared with 1980, the number of specialists with higher and secondary specialized training, employed in the country's national economy, had increased by nearly 4.5 million, totaling 33 million people.

At the same time, the trend of stabilization of the population's social structure, which had become apparent during the preceding 5-year period, became even more obvious. Thus, the average annual increase in the number of workers in the 11th 5-Year Plan was half that of the 10th and the average annual decline in the number of kolkhoz members had diminished by a factor of more than five compared with the preceding 5-year period. The growth rates of the number of specialists doubled that of workers. The positive and negative aspects of said trends can be easily seen. The reduced growth rates in the size of the working class and the conversion of a growing segment of the able-bodied population into the category of the intelligentsia was an indicator of a certain production intensification, on the one hand, and of violations of the necessary ratios in the breakdown of the employed population by social group, consistent with national economic requirements, on the other. On the one hand, the lowered pace at which the number of kolkhoz members declined was

an indicator of the stabilization of the rural population as a result of the successful implementation of the party's agrarian policy; on the other, however, it was an indicator of stagnation in the growth of agricultural labor productivity. The share of mechanizers in kolkhozes increased slowly as well. As a whole, the number of workers engaged in nonmechanized manual labor--more than 50 million people (with an average annual reduction in their number of no more than 180 thousand in industry (5))--assumed an overall static nature. About one-third of all workers in industry, more than one-half in construction and three-quarters in agriculture were doing manual work (2, p 10).

The scale of social movements declined substantially. According to an all-union survey conducted in 1982-1985 (headed by this author, covering 14 areas in the country, with the application of the multiple-stage selection system based on the "Your Labor Biography" Survey. The program and method materials of the study were published in (6)), about two-thirds of the total number of surveyed working people had made an interclass move and more one-half an intraclass social move from the beginning of their labor career to the time of the survey. However, a cohort study showed that the percentage of people who had made a social change among those who had begun their labor activities in the 1970s-1980s, was between one-half to two-thirds lower than among those who had started their careers in the 1950s-1960s. Repeated studies (24, 25) showed a reduction in the percentage of individuals with labor seniority entering VUZs (full-time study). The percentage of "reverting" social changes was high. Thus, according to the survey, the share of kolkhoz members and employees (nonspecialists) who joined the working class was virtually stable for the first 10 years of their labor careers and remained unchanged subsequently. However, one out of every four employees and one out of 10 kolkhoz members returned to his initial social "position" (the analysis of this part of the results of the study was made by the late Dr of Philosophical Sciences V.I. Molchanov). A significant percentage of the workers (up to 20 percent of the entire group with an approximately identical breakdown by cohort), who began their labor careers with vocational training, switched to the kolkhoz peasantry (essentially PTU graduates coming from the villages). Today's youth is joining the labor force at a more mature age: in the 1950s, more than 50 percent of the respondents began their labor activities before they were 18; in the 1980s two-thirds went to work between the ages of 18 and 21. Nearly three-quarters of the respondents who made a social move were part of the migration flow. The indicators of "self-reproduction" of the main social population groups increased: thus, three-quarters of the kolkhoz peasantry are reproduced by offspring of the same class; a similar situation prevails in terms of the social sources of working-class reinforcement, although in recent years the influx of young people from social groups of personnel engaged in mental labor has increased somewhat. With a relatively "open access" to the intelligentsia (as much as one-half of its reinforcements come from members of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry), some of its detachments (the scientific and creative intelligentsia) obtained from its own circle up to 70 percent of its reinforcements.

The study enabled us to determine a number of regional features of "intragenerational" social moves and their specific features in the various economic sectors. Thus, in the republics of Central Asia intraclass moves were more intensive than in the central parts of the RSFSR; among the latter,



however, a larger number of workers leave industry and move to other economic sectors (for the country at large, between 1970 and 1983 the number of workers employed in trade, public catering, supplies, marketing and procurements more than doubled, tripling in housing and communal economy and the nonproduction consumer service sectors compared to industry. The respective figures were 34.5, 52 and 17 percent (7, p 388)). The intersectorial moves of working people are encouraged by possibilities of faster social advancement, professional growth, higher earnings and improved housing, living and working conditions offered by another sector. Such moves are mostly spontaneous and uncontrolled. As a whole, despite the existence of a number of specific features, the regional and sectorial trends in social changes do not change the overall stabilization of the social structure of the population, or else change it in ways by no means always consistent with the requirements of scientific and technical and social progress of Soviet society.

Some stagnation in a number of elements and subelements in the social structure are caused by the reduced pace of economic growth, which became particularly tangible starting toward the end of the 1970s. A gap also developed between the trends of interclass convergence and intensified intraclass differentiation. Nor should we ignore the fact that in some cases scientific and technical progress could intensify such differentiation and trigger some new forms of the same. Thus, the convergence between the stratum of workers doing highly skilled work and the engineering intelligentsia, although preserving a stable proportion of workers employed in routine types of work, inevitably increases the "distance" separating individual strata within the working class, intensifying its internal heterogeneity. A similar trend is also manifested in the structure of the kolkhoz peasantry.

Clearly, there cannot even be a question of a "perpetuation" of routine labor: scientific and technical progress will inevitably encompass all economic sectors, professions and skills. However, we should not ignore the fact that for the time being this progress varies with each sector. Furthermore, at some stages the concentration of investments and other forms of economic and social incentive on crucial and decisive trends of production development is inevitable. Does this mean that the other economic sectors should remain outside scientific and technical progress for awhile and that the workers they employ should perform relatively simple work for a long time to come?

We believe that the solution lies in the maximally possible reconstruction and reorganization of the production process at each sector and a decisive rejection of the "expectation" tactics in a face of the crucial problems of scientific and technical and social progress. Let us point out, in this connection, the social reserves found in the new forms of labor organization. This applies, above all, to the brigade system. By the end of 1983 nearly two-thirds of all industrial (64.7 percent) were members of brigades; more than one-half were members of comprehensive brigades and about 80 percent were members of brigades with earnings based on a single order (4, p 186-187). Without discussing at this point the question of the economic and production-technical efficiency of the brigade organization of labor, let us point out in this connection merely that it is precisely in brigades that many problems of intensifying the internal integration of the working class and surmounting the gap in the nature, conditions and payments for labor among its individual



strata, as already mentioned, can be resolved. Including engineering and technical workers in the brigades seems quite promising (such an experiment was described in this journal (8)).

Today reality also indicates other ways for the convergence of workers with engineering and technical personnel within the new forms of labor organization. Broad possibilities open on this level with the restructuring of the economic mechanism and the comprehensive use of cost accounting. In 1983 brigades operating on a cost accounting basis accounted for 18.1 percent of all workers working in brigades; in almost 51 percent of all brigades average earnings and bonuses were based on the labor participation coefficient; 55.2 percent of the workers were members of comprehensive brigades, which opened new opportunities for job changes and for combining mental with physical functions (4, pp 186-187). New forms of production management, the use of brigade leaders' councils in particular, are becoming increasingly popular.

In our view, changes of this nature not only affect the social organization of labor but also contribute to perfecting the attitude toward ownership of the means of production, for under these circumstances the labor collectives are increasingly and actually becoming the owners of the nation's material values put at their disposal. Therefore relations of ownership and of the social organization of labor are developing "hand in hand," which cannot fail to affect the trend of convergence between the working class and the engineering and technical intelligentsia, changes in its intraclass structure and the enhancement of the role of labor collectives as the primary cells of socialist society. Furthermore, a community (for the time being still internally heterogeneous) of socialist production workers employed in the industrial sectors of the national economy gradually takes shape.

As far as the prospects for the rapprochement between the kolkhoz peasantry and the agrarian detachment of the working class and improvements in the structure of both in the course of this rapprochement are concerned, they appear possible above all as a result of combining scientific and technical progress with agroindustrial integration. Studies recently conducted by the Sector of Social Development of the Kolkhoz Peasantry and the Countryside of the USSR AN ISI (headed by Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V.I. Staroverov) shed light to a number of contradictions within agroindustrial integration, above all between the need for accelerated production-technical, economic and social development of the countryside and the imperfection of the economic-legal foundations of the RAPO. Naturally, the social problems of the agroindustrial complex substantially exceed the framework of purely rural matters and affect, above all, the interest of the working people employed within this complex (in 1984 this affected 45 million people or one-third of the country's employed population (4, pp 149-179)), not to mention the national interest. The acceleration of scientific and technical progress in agriculture and in the entire agroindustrial complex will bring about major sociostructural changes (9).

Scientific and technical progress and the advancement of the social organization of labor in industry, agriculture and other production sectors pose a number of new problems previously unknown to our society on such a

scale. It is a question, in particular, of the profound changes in the sectorial, professional and territorial structure of the labor force, which is directly related to changes in the societal social structure. Releasing tens of millions of people from manual nonmechanized labor as a result of comprehensive production mechanization, automation and robotization, and the use of technologies involving fewer personnel or none at all, will raise most urgently the question of the planned reassignment of the workers. Naturally, this will not imply the simple reassignment of cadres from one production sector to another. A great deal of thought will have to be given to their retraining and enhancement of general education and cultural-technical standards (let us not forget that to this day 17.5 percent of workers and 30.5 percent of kolkhoz members have not even completed their secondary training (4, p 18)). The question of discipline and organization and of the high responsibility on the part of every worker for the strict observance of technological requirements and the production of high quality goods will be raised even more urgently than at present. The creative labor initiative of the working people will have to be developed further; they must become ready to make rational and responsible decisions under nonstandard production situations. In turn, all of this presumes a new quality not only of training but of upbringing, the molding of a new type of production worker in the full meaning of the term.

The reform of general education and professional schools is a major step forward in this direction. The substantial enhancement of the quality of youth training and education, the conversion to universal vocational training of young people in the near future and the planned assignment of the new generations among production sectors and according to skill and therefore among the social cells which form the social structure, and the involvement of students in various types of socially useful productive toil will all have very broad social implications (10). The new social qualities of the young generations of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia will be shaped on the basis of universal computer literacy. Combined with mass participation of young people in productive toil and high overall standards, this will result in a real combination within the new generations of Soviet citizens of the contemporary with and future features of workers engages in physical and mental labor.

However, we should not ignore a very essential circumstance. At some stages in the development of our society occasional differences arise between the growth of its intellectual potential and the possibilities of realizing it. Suffice it to imagine that in the immediate future it may become necessary annually to provide with jobs 4-5 million young people with a higher standard of general and vocational training, who have mastered the foundations of computers, to realize that any lag in restructuring equipment and production technology could, under such circumstances, create rather complex conflicts. We must further take into consideration that the qualitatively new nature of the production process will create a new hierarchy of jobs: the concepts of "simple work" and "complex work" will assume an essentially new meaning in the future. Consequently, the problem of ensuring a sufficiently objective and straight choice of workers for the most complex and responsible types of work will arise.

Today, with manpower shortages felt in a number of economic sectors, such considerations may appear utopian and unrealistic. Actually, what kind of "selection" could we be talking about, when the urgent need to fill a vacancy forces us to hire the first applicant who may not be all that qualified. But then how long will such a situation prevail? We already mentioned the need to prepare the workers organizationally and psychologically for future job changes (incidentally, a number of researchers have long pointed out the very cautious attitude of some workers concerning such a possibility: fears are expressed of a possible increase in mental stress, losses of earnings, shift changes, transfers to other collectives, and so on (11, 12)). Let us emphasize here another aspect of the problem: the need to prepare the production process, once again from the organizational, psychological and, naturally, economic viewpoints, for a future surplus of workers and their sensible employment under such circumstances.

The socialist economic system can undertake the planned assignment and reassignment of production workers. However, merely noting such a possibility is insufficient in terms of its practical implementation. We need a system of economic, legal, administrative, ideological, educational and other measures before such possibilities can become reality. The current manpower shortage clearly indicates the cost of ignoring the social mechanisms of cadre placement. Furthermore, some economic sectors are already now facing complex problems caused by the need to combine the updating of cadre training with a reduction in or perhaps merely the stabilizing of their numbers. The most typical example is science. The USSR had about 1.5 million scientific workers in 1984. The average annual growth in their number, which totaled 60,000 people during the 9th 5-Year Plan, dropped to 30,000, or by one-half, during the 10th 5-Year Plan, and to 22,000 people in the first 4 years of the 11th 5-Year Plan (4, p 86). The "aging" of scientific cadres, lowering of their productivity, lowered prospects for the promotion of scientific youth, etc., were the consequences. We believe that this situation could be used (naturally, somewhat conventionally) as a model of what could be expected in many other economic sectors, particularly the most "advanced" ones in the sense of scientific and technical progress. We already mentioned some possible social consequences of the use of unmanned technologies. It would be pertinent to mention here the possible surplus of cadres unless proper organizational-economic and social steps have not been planned and formulated on time.

Full employment and the constitutionally guaranteed right to work are the greatest accomplishment of socialism. The socialist economic system guarantees the strict observance and increase of these gains. It alone can resolve the major problems of scientific and technical progress without violating the interests of the working people. Nevertheless, socialism does not in the least set itself the unattainable objective of ensuring for all citizens jobs of different complexity (but equal in terms of conditions, wages and social prestige, for although under socialism all work is honorable, different labor accomplishments and labor contributions will bring different honors). Consequently, we could expect the appearance of new problems as people are placed on the different rungs of the labor hierarchy under the conditions of accelerated scientific and technical progress. Under such circumstances, how can the principle of social justice be observed?



We believe that one of the means may be the comprehensive use of competitiveness for promotions to more complex and, respectively, better paid types of work. In other words, it would be expedient for every working person systematically to advance in his "career" through periodical competitions of knowledge, skill, productivity, quality of output, etc. The socialist competition offers extensive possibilities for this. Its results (determined not formally but factually) could greatly contribute to determining the true value of labor collectives and their members. Furthermore, it may make sense to consider a competition for the right to participate in one competition or another. Obviously, such a right should be earned or confirmed on the basis of previous eliminations, as is done in sports competitions, for example.

Naturally, many parallel problems may arise in this case: what will happen to those who do not win the competition? How to ensure the objectiveness of the "umpires?" Could competition create abuses? These are natural problems many of which, however, have already been answered by practical experience. Let us consider, for example, competitions for VUZ enrollment. It is true that in recent years the stress of such competitions has been reduced substantially by virtue of a number of demographic and social reasons. However, the principle of competitive selection has remained unaffected. On the contrary, violations of this principle and enrollment in a VUZ on a noncompetitive or priority basis is increasingly considered archaic and adversely affecting the quality of specialist training. In the course of the discussion of the prospects for the reorganization of higher schools, it has been suggested that a two-step higher education system be established and the passing of students from the first to the second stage be made competitive. Or else, let us consider student scientific circles. We believe that the Ministry of Education's requirement of comprehensive involvement of the students in such circles is a manifestation of formalism. The assumption is that this could develop the creative and cognitive activeness of the students. What is ignored in this case, however, is that not all students have the necessary inclinations or sufficient training to engage in scientific work. As a result of the same type of pursuit after "mass participation," many circles are acquiring an openly pedantic nature, while a considerable number of VUZ graduates develop an increased orientation for scientific activities inconsistent with the needs of society and their own ability, encouraging them to abandon production activities. In the final account, this turns out to be quite costly to society. Would it not be more accurate to reduce the number of student scientific circles and instruct the chairs to enroll students in such circles on a competitive basis, selecting only those considered most capable of engaging in scientific creativity?

Problems of training intelligentsia reinforcements have long been considered by sociologists, who have studied the dynamics of the social structure. Unquestionably, interest in such problems will increase with the acceleration of scientific and technical progress and the need to perfect the higher and secondary specialized training systems. Obviously, one of the most topical trends in new research should be the study of the social aspects of the student body from the viewpoint of changes in the structure and aspect of the intelligentsia, above all in its most popular sectorial and professional detachments.



The acceleration of scientific and technical progress and changes in the social organization of labor will inevitably effect the structure of the intelligentsia. Increasingly deep changes will take place in the nature of specialist labor as a result of computerization and the use of new management tools, and higher level of technical facilities. On this basis the distinction between the intelligentsia and the skilled strata of workers engaged in physical (primarily physical) labor will disappear faster. At the same time, however, we could expect a certain intensification of the differentiation within the intelligentsia itself for the very same reason that we cited in the case of the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry. As confirmed by sociological studies made in recent years, the extent of differentiation among the detachments of the intelligentsia is quite substantial today (which, incidentally, influences both students and young specialists (13, 14)). Involving all or most intelligentsia detachments and strata in scientific and technical progress and the technological development of mental work could contribute to the growth of its inner homogeneity which, understandably, would not exclude specific professional features (15).

Young people under 30 account for one-half of the Soviet scientific and technical intelligentsia (16). These are the cadres who will have to resolve most of the problems related to scientific and production progress in the near future. Naturally, they draw the increased attention of sociologists. As a study made by Kharkov scientists has indicated, despite the appearance of success in the creative activeness of the young specialists, approximately one-third of them have failed to achieve positive results in their creative work and the "comprehensiveness" of results "reflecting the sum total of several different types of creative activities" has been characteristic of only a few among them (14, pp 38-39). This indicates the existence of significant unused social reserves. It is important to find incentives which would enable us to utilize them in accordance with the characteristics of the individual economic sectors, professions and labor collectives.

The need for efficient placement of specialist cadres and for their planned assignment, consistent with production requirements, in the various economic sectors is becoming increasingly urgent. Statistics show that in 1983 26 percent of specialists with higher and secondary specialized training were employed at industrial enterprises; 7 percent were in agriculture, 18 percent in public education, culture and the arts, 8 percent in science and scientific services, about 7 percent in the administrative apparatus and the balance in other sectors and types of work (7, pp 400-401). A comparison with 1980 data indicates that this breakdown showed little change during the current 5-year period. However, an assessment of this stability is possible only on the basis of the real needs of the production process for which, precisely, no reliable information exists. The practice of assignment and job placement of VUZ graduates indicates that the unregulated transfers of young specialists among national economic sectors remain widespread. According to some estimates, nearly one-half of graduates in any given year acquire the status of so-called "free job placement." The share of "practical workers" remains high--up to 20 percent in industry, 11 percent in agriculture and forestry, 22 percent in state management bodies and their structural subdivisions and more than 36 percent in cultural and educational institutions (17, pp 200-201). The ratio between specialists with higher and secondary skills is not

improving: there were 210 technicians per 100 engineers in 1980 and 197 in 1983; there were respectively 282 and 275 secondary medical personnel per 100 physicians (7, pp 400-401). The labor of scientific workers is largely inefficient. Thus, according to the results of a survey of 5,000 workers in 127 NII, 40 percent of them spend no more than one-half of their working time on strictly scientific work (study conducted by the Social Development of the Intelligentsia Sector, USSR Academy of Sciences ISI, headed by Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. F. Sbytov).

Unfortunately, however, so far neither planning bodies nor heads of labor collectives have reliable methodical estimates of the need for workers and specialists. The practice of mass job certification, which was initiated in the country on the initiative of the Dnepropetrovsk Combines Plant imeni K. Ye. Voroshilov, indicates that such estimates are frequently exaggerated. Obviously, such certification should be applied in all economic sectors and types of work while, at the same time resolving the problem of workplace efficiency and availability of modern facilities, which would make it possible to assess the need for cadres on a more substantiated basis and correspondingly guide the entire system of vocational training from PTU to higher schools. It may also become necessary to refine the legal status of young workers and specialists.

The acceleration of scientific and technical progress will inevitably affect distribution relations which include the essential criteria of socioclass differences. Understandably, the distribution relations system should be overall consistent with the socialist principle "from each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work," and any violations and deviations from this principle adversely affect the entire system of socialist social relations. As M.N. Rutkevich has pointed out, to date basic differences in income exist not among classes and social groups but within them--within the social strata (18, pp 154, 159). Let us add to this that such differences are also quite tangible among socioterritorial population groups. However, socialist society does not set itself in the least the task of pursuing some kind of income "equalization:" in income differentiation remains objectively necessary, providing that it is strictly consistent with the principle of socialist distribution.

One could hardly agree with others (Soviet as well as foreign) who tend to see income differences (or to use a very loose criterion, "living conditions") as just about the crux of all social differentiation in contemporary socialist society. For example, S.L. Senyavskiy assumes that "upgrading the material and cultural living standards of the people and of all socioclass components concentrates within itself the basic sociointegration processes..." (19, p 60). Some authors of collections of articles, which were published almost simultaneously in Hungary and Poland (20, 21) proceed from the "living conditions" indicator and, on its basis, structure a "stratification model" of socialist society. We believe that there are no reasons whatsoever to abandon the familiar Marxist-Leninist methodological principle which calls for the study not only of the size of income but, above all, the means through which it is earned. It is only thus that we could obtain a truly scientific and not a distorted picture of both social unity within socialist society and the social differences remaining within it.

In particular, this means that current sociological studies should deal not only with income earned from wages but also income distributed through social consumption funds and not only entirely socialist sources but also sources of income and means of earning it alien to socialism. As M.N. Rutkevich has justifiably pointed out, "there are no sociological studies which include a quantitative assessment of the extent of such sources of income and substantiated recommendations relative to increasing the struggle against them" (18, p 119).

The country's need for accelerated scientific and technical progress determines some corrections in wage policy. There is an obvious need to stimulate the role of wages in the work of scientific and engineering and technical workers. This was reflected in the recent CPSU Central Committee, USSR Council of Ministers and AUCCTU decree "On Improving the Wages of Scientific Workers, Designers and Technologists in Industry" (22). Obviously, it will be necessary to change the practice of the utilization of social consumption funds and to subordinate the need for it primarily to stimulating worker categories which are on the "cutting edge" of science and technology.

Correspondingly, to a certain extent this will benefit (if not in absolute, at least in relative terms) the socioprofessional groups and labor collectives which are behind in the application of scientific and technical innovations and which are being overpaid today only because of the scarcity of workers in some production sectors. It is not excluded that such a change in the situation relative to wages and social consumption funds will be understood by no means by everyone and immediately as being just and expedient. Obviously, it will be necessary promptly to apply sociological methods in dealing with the sources and forms of manifestation of dissatisfaction in individual groups of working people, which could arise (we know, for example, from press reports that already now, workers in some light industry labor collectives are dissatisfied with the need frequently to retune technological lines because of consumer demand. Naturally, it is easier to apply an old technology, although obsolete goods remain unsold). Therefore, the influence of scientific and technical progress in this area of sociostructural relations (understandably, we are not discussing here other aspects of the distribution problem) contains a contradiction which must be resolved through specifically socialist methods.

The interaction between scientific and technical progress and the advancement of the social structure of Soviet society under the conditions of the implementation of the party's course of accelerated socioeconomic development of the country demand a profound and systematic sociological analysis. In particular, it appears necessary in terms of the new conditions to study the specific mechanisms for the elimination of interclass and intraclass social differences; to continue (with proper changes) the work on forecasting changes in the social structure of Soviet society; to study ways of upgrading the plan and the controlled nature of the processes governing socioclass changes, including ways of upgrading the social efficiency of education and optimizing jobs for young people; to study the new forms of social differentiation; and to study the means for surmounting negative trends. In our view, it is also important to formulate substantiated suggestions on the further advancement of indicators in social statistics and sociological research used in the study of changes in the social structure of our society. Together with those who study



public opinion, it would be expedient to study the manner in which changes in the social structure are reflected in the awareness of the various population groups (in terms of social justice, equality and inequality, etc.). Consequently, it is a question of a broad scientific study which would cover not only socioeconomic (basic) but also "secondary" (superstructural) processes. That is why it would be hardly accurate to narrow the problems of social structure such as to fit the socioeconomic frame and to try to formulate, on this basis, an "economic sociology" (23) (although in itself the idea of relating economic with sociological studies is unquestionable). We believe that it should rather be a question of the further development of a special sociological theory of the social structure and its links with the study of the way of life.

Expanding our international contacts would be important as well, above all with scientists in the socialist community, on the basis of already available positive experience. In order to increase the practical returns from studies of the social structure we must strengthen and develop contacts with governmental and party bodies and sectorial sociological services. All such studies would require a substantially new approach, based on the stipulations of the new draft of the CPSU program. New efforts will have to be made to expose and criticize ideology hostile to socialism, which is using increasingly refined means of attacking the socialist principles of equality, justice and systematic elimination of class and other social differences.

The resolutions of the 27th Party Congress will give social scientists a long-term action program. Studies of the social structure and its interconnection with scientific and technical progress must be raised to a qualitatively new level.

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## SOCIOECONOMIC POTENTIAL OF THE FAMILY CONTRACT

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[Text] Could the family contract be considered a new form of organization of agricultural labor? The answer to this question is complex. The family contract has been making its way for several decades. However, with the exception of special cases, it has not gone beyond the limits of an interesting experiment. Understandably, doomed to the status of "innovation," it remains the stepchild of the existing management system. Yet its possibilities for the growth of labor efficiency are truly tremendous. It is within an area in which "the highest possible resource can be obtained with minimal additional investments or even no investments at all" (2).

One of the plot lines in the novel by Anatoliy Ananyev "Years Without War" discusses the fate of Zelenoluzhskiy experiment: the Soshnikov family (four members) did the work of 20 people on its assigned field. Raykom secretary Lukin considered this not simply a case of labor intensification, but a new power source which could greatly influence moral forces in the rural person. Rephrasing Leo Tolstoy, Lukin thinks as follows: "Scientific societies, governmental institutions and the press are discussing the food problem of the country and the means of enhancing the level of agriculture even higher. However, the one thing they are not thinking about is an unquestionable means which would most likely change the entire situation for the better: assigning the land to family links and thus restoring the now broken tie between man and the soil" (12, p 4). Having reached this conclusion, Lukin submitted to

But let us not go any further. Let us consider the thoughts of Ananyev's character as the formulation of the problem and try to envisage it from the scientific viewpoint.

The collective (brigade) contracting method is rapidly spreading in agriculture today. Compared with 1983, last year the number of contract brigades increased by more than 32,000 or by nearly 93 percent, while their membership rose by 466,000 or 48 percent (9).

As to the family contract, which is a small-group variety of the organization of social labor, which should be described as a collective contract on a family basis, its use still frequently clashes with the prejudiced (and sometimes negative) attitude of economic managers. Wherever applied, its possibilities prove to be by no means exhausted. The statistical authorities who deal with the collective contract do not consider it; nor has it become a target of special economic and sociological study. Although in a number of socialist countries and some areas in the USSR positive experience has been acquired in this field (to be discussed later), so far not even an attempt has been made to provide a scientific interpretation of the nature and most important characteristics of the family contract.

Let us try to describe the nature and main features of the phenomenon. By family contract we mean a variety of forms of utilization (on the basis of a contractual system) of the labor resources of rural families in the interest of public production. The brigade contract is distinct from work at home, which is another variety of the utilization of the labor potential of the family in the interest of society, by the area of application (agriculture); the difference between it and the private auxiliary plots is, above all, that it is a form of organization of social labor. Nevertheless, the family contract could operate on the basis of the private auxiliary plot and be a way of combining it with public production.

The family contract rallies not only the members of a single family or relatives living together. It could consist of several families, thus becoming an interfamily cooperative. Another variant is the combination of the family with the brigade contract. Family work is the base of all such varieties.

No rigid rules regulate the time and volume of work based on the family contract. The contract could cover the entire production cycle or its individual stages. It could apply to the basic working and the nonworking time and not only of people employed at the given agricultural enterprise but also citizens who have no labor relations with that enterprise. The realm of application of the family contract is quite broad. Public or private means of production or a combination of both could be used.

As a structural element of the brigade organization of labor, the family contract is distinguished by its stability, for it is based on strong family ties among its participants and mutual aid. Finally, another one of its features is the simplicity of payments for labor. Here, considering the direct and clear connection which exist between earnings and the quantity and



quality of output, the computation of the labor contribution and respective individual wages becomes unnecessary.

As a form of labor organization which enhances its productivity, the family contract is extensively applied in a number of socialist countries. For example, it successfully operates in Bulgaria in the production of items requiring extensive labor outlays, in the agroindustrial complexes in mountainous areas, and as a material base for public farming inadequate in terms of commodity production and storing. The so called new-type brigades, which appeared in Bulgaria in 1981 were given the right to determine their own type of wages, including a family piece-rate system.

Juridically, the family and individual contracts stipulate the rights and obligations of the public farms and the citizens. The average size of vegetable-growing plots ranges from 0.2 to 0.5 hectares per family. However, some families grow peppers and tomatoes on twice that area. The working people are paid in full on delivery. A direct correlation exist between quantity and quality, on the one hand, and payments, on the other. Typically, brigades applying the family piece-rate system harvest the entire crop on time, without outside manpower, with a substantially reduced such manpower as a result of higher labor productivity and the involvement of "other" family members. The family contract makes it possible to increase production yields and quality, to upgrade production profitability and substantially to increase the workers' income.

Although the attitude toward the family contract remains quite restrained, in our country it has become quite widespread. Essentially, it is practiced in sheep grazing in the republics of Central Asia and the Northern Caucasus. More than 100 family shepherd brigades operate in Guryev Oblast, Kazakh SSR. Labor productivity in such teams is usually 15 to 20 percent higher compared to other collectives. The quality of their wool is better and so is the survival rate of the young offspring. In the high-mountain villages in Georgia, the families are assigned pasture and hay-growing areas and publicly owned cattle. The produce is delivered to agricultural enterprises. Silkworms are raised on the basis of the family contract, at home, in Central Asia (mainly in Uzbekistan) and the Northern Caucasus. In the RSFSR and in the Ukraine the family contract is applied in sugar beet growing. At the Kolkhoz imeni Kuybyshev, near Yerevan, converting tobacco growing to the family contract method increased yields from 22 to 45 quintals per hectare. In Azerbaijan, with average tomato harvests averaging slightly over 200 quintals (up to 300 in the frontranking farms), some families harvest as many as 1,000 quintals per hectare. Family brigades at the Nitsa Sovkhoz, Liyepayskiy Rayon, in Latvia, family brigades grow onions and cucumbers; they grow carrots at the Bulduri Sovkhoz-Technical School, Rihskiy Rayon. The conversion to the new form of labor organization has made it possible substantially to improve the quality of output, increase the volume of procurements and resolve the crop storing problem.

Data from the Transcarpathian experimental agricultural station, which is the experimental base of the Section on Problems of Private Auxiliary Plots of the Scientific Council for the Social Development of the Countryside under the VASKHNIL Presidium, confirm the efficiency of raising cattle by the population

on the basis of contracts, with adequate availability of fodder provided by the public farm. Between March 1983 and January 1985, the station was given 190 head of young cattle for fattening on an experimental basis. Within the same period, the fattening of 25 head of young cattle was discontinued at an experimental group of private plots. A number of economic indicators compared with a control group (in the public farm) proved superior here: fodder outlays per quintal of growth were 38 percent lower; direct production outlays per quintal of increased weight (including the cost of fodder, wages and other material costs, including amortization of premises) were 29 percent lower; hourly labor costs (net income excluding production material and technical outlays based on the control group) were 35 percent lower.

The view is frequently expressed that expanding the family contract by raising public cattle in private plots should be postponed until the cattle raised in the large farms and complexes has become fully insured with fodder. In our view, this is wrong. It means spoiling cooperation between the public farm and the private plots. Furthermore, assigning some of the young offspring from the public farm to the "family farm" lowers fodder outlays. Usually, these cattle are supplied fodder from the public farm on the basis of one-third lower norms than allocated for animals raised at the public farms. In the private plots the need for feed is met essentially from scraps from the home or garden plot, thus using feed sources wasted in the public sector (every year the private auxiliary plots produce several million tons of fodder units from food waste). Briefly, the "family farms" make more fodder available for the publicly owned cattle. In addition to fodder and weight savings, lesser funds are spent in administrative activities, equipping premises, paying servicing personnel, etc. Cattle productivity increases quickly thanks to the good individual caring for the animals.

The fact that the use of the family contract enables us to reduce outside help--workers, employees and students--at labor-intensive sectors is of exceptional importance. We know that sometimes such steps are unjustified from the labor productivity and quality viewpoints. Under the conditions of the family contract, conversely, the people work as hard as they can. Also important is the fact that this method substantially reduces losses at different production stages, including harvesting.

One of the arguments against assigning plots to the families is disputes among them concerning the quality and location of the land they are assigned. However, such conflicting situations could arise under collective contract conditions as well. This proves, above all, the existence of an interested attitude on the part of the producers toward basic means of production, for the condition of the latter directly affects labor results, the end product and the income. Here as well it is important to ensure equal opportunities to the families using the contract method.

As a specific form of labor organization in public production, the family contract efficiently combines national, collective and personal interests. The land remains public property and the personnel of state and cooperative farms remain members of labor collectives in which they worked until they converted to the new form. In addition to the land, buildings, equipment and tools remain public property. Production is based on a single plan which is

specified in the contract between the cooperative and the brigade and between the brigade and its members. The distribution of the produce is based on socialist principles and public control over production is exercised.

Let us emphasize that in most cases the family contract does not alienate in the least the people from collective and brigade labor, for some of the work on the land assigned to the families is done by the brigade. If necessary, several families joined forces and thus operate on the basis of a group contract. Socialist competition develops among family units. In Guryev Oblast, for example, shepherd families compete under the slogan of "Family Honor." Competition for the best farm yard, which is linked on a cooperative basis with the public farm, has become widespread in the kolkhozes of Abarshtskiy and other Georgian rayons. The "My Family's 5-Year Plan" movement, on the basis of which plans for the production of foodstuffs by individual families, links and brigades through 1990 were formulated, originated in the kolkhoz of Shrom village, Makharadzevskiy Rayon, in Georgia. Briefly, this form of labor organization contributes to the fuller manifestation of the worker's features as the co-owner of the socialist production process. A negative attitude toward the family contract (let us remember that relatively recently the brigade contracting method was also given a negative rating). This is not only groundless from the economic and social viewpoints, but, in our view, it also conflicts with the spirit of present CPSU agrarian policy.

Let us explain our viewpoint. As we know, the 8 January 1981 CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers decree "On Additional Measures to Increase the Production of Agricultural Products in Citizens' Private Auxiliary Plots" allowed the sovkhozes and recommended to the kolkhozes to conclude contracts with the population for raising and selling cattle and poultry and selling milk surpluses (5). Obviously, in this case, animal husbandry output in the LPKh (particularly when related to fattening young cattle owned by kolkhozes and sovkhozes) assumes the nature of work at home, for which reason the stipulation in the decree we mentioned, which allows citizens to keep cattle over and above the stipulated number (forbidden without a contract) and the stipulation according to which agricultural commodities sold by the population (on the basis of a contract) can be included in the volume of output and implementation of the state purchasing plan are entirely justified. This means that in terms of its social significance, LPKh labor is equal to work in the public farm.

Thanks to state support the production of animal husbandry goods on a contractual basis has become quite widespread. According to our data, in 1984 some 1,253,000 contracts were concluded with the population for raising cattle and poultry belonging large agricultural enterprises in LPKh. Essentially, however, this also is a family contract. The means of production (young cattle, fodder) are publicly owned and all the families do is care for the animals.

Let us look at work at home. Quite recently it was viewed negatively and was not encouraged. The situation today has changed. This form of labor organization, convenient to many population categories, was given "citizenship rights" in the economy. A number of CPSU Central Committee and Soviet government decrees emphasize the need to develop it. Thus, the appeal "to



make extensive use of the practice of organizing work at home" is included in the CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers 1 September 1983 decree "On Improving the Use of Labor Resources in Rural Areas on the Basis of the More Extensive Development of Auxiliary Production Facilities and Industries in Agriculture" (6). The CPSU Central Committee and Council of Ministers decree "On Measures for the Further Development of Local Industry in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000" (April 1985) stipulates the following: "To allow heads of local industry enterprises and organizations to hire for work at home individuals who are willing to do such work during the time free from their main working time, regardless of the nature of their jobs" (7).

The following questions arises: why is it that the family contract is recognized and encouraged and considered equal to work in public production in some forms or sectors and not in others?

The analogy drawn between the family contract and the family farm under capitalism is also totally unjustified. This greatly reminds of the conclusions of theoreticians who recently opposed the private auxiliary plots and collective truck gardening, classifying such production methods as allegedly preserving the vestiges of private petty farming. Noting the great demand of the population for garden plots, in his address at the meeting of Leningrad's party organization aktiv in May 1985, M.S. Gorbachev said: "We...somewhat feared this, as though it was some kind of private enterprise activities. What kind of private enterprise activity is it if a family working its small garden spends its time among nature?" (3).

Occasionally the relatively small size of contemporary rural families is used as an argument against the spreading of the family contract in our country. This is far from being the case. According to the 1979 population census, the average size of the rural family was six people living together in Uzbekistan, 5.8 in Azerbaijan, 6.6 in Tadzhikistan, 5.2 in Armenia, 5.3 in Kirgiziya and 6.5 in Turkmeniya. This figure is even higher in some oblast in the Central Asian republics: it is 7 in Horezma Oblast in Uzbekistan, and 7.3 in Gorno-Badakhshan Oblast in Tadzhikistan (for the sake of comparison let us note that the average size of the rural family is 3.3-3.4 members in the RSFSR, the Ukraine and Belorussia). Families of 10 or more members account for approximately 16 percent of all families in Tadzhikistan, 15 percent in Turkmeniya and 13 percent of all rural families in Uzbekistan (2) (teams working on the basis of a contract in animal husbandry (13,000 in 1983) averaged four to five people. Obviously, teams of the same size could be entirely staffed by members of a single family, particularly in the Central Asian republics).

Let us bear in mind that in most of these republics (Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, Kirgiziya, Tadzhikistan and Turkmeniya) the average size of the rural family at the time of the preceding census (1970) had increased rather than diminished. Naturally, in the largest republics, such as the RSFSR and the Ukraine, rural families are relatively small. However, this merely proves that here the family contract could involve relatively small plots and fewer head of cattle (experience in this area already exists in Moscow Oblast and other parts of the Nonchernozem). On the other hand, for the time being no one can say that the extensive popularization of the family contract will not



turn into an economic incentive for increasing the number of children in peasant families in the European and Siberian parts of the country.

The family contract is particularly important in areas of mass seasonal migration of manpower, particularly in a number of oblasts in the Western Ukraine and Armenia. This labor organization and wage method applied here would contribute, in particular, to the preservation of family ties which frequently weaken because of the mass and lengthy male migration (in some Armenian areas the conversion to the family contract has already reduced the flow of people from the villages, who engage in moonlighting, and has had a positive influence on the social situation in the countryside). It is sometimes said that the rural resident will not accept the family contract for, allegedly, he is unwilling to work under conditions of an unaccustomed labor organization and higher intensification. To begin with, however, we should not forget that hundreds of thousands of people are already working on the basis of family contracts and that, secondly, as confirmed by results of sociological surveys, initially a significantly lesser number of workers "vote" in favor of the application of new forms of labor organization and wages compared to those who favor them after a while. This is influenced by mental inertia, familiarity with old forms, mistrust of new ones, etc.

The completion of the experiment of the use of the family contract and the extensive publicity of economic and social results could substantially increase the number of its supporters among the broad masses of rural workers.

In frequent cases, arguments against the family contracts are reduced to the fact that it brings excessive income. The substantial differentiation in earnings and personal income of working people, based on the quantity and quality of their output within the framework of the family contract has revealed the support among some managers of wage equalization and has created in them an almost panicky fear of "overpayment." In this connection, let us turn yet once again to the novel "Years Without War." That which was paid to a brigade or, specifically, to 20 people, was to be paid to four--to the Soshnikov family link. "The same opinion was voiced by financial workers, on the kolkhoz, rayon and oblast levels, who were asked, that the amount earned by the individual members of the Soshnikov family was in violation of the law and that, obviously, the norms on the basis of which the earnings were computed were improperly used. It was strange (and illogical even from the viewpoint of state interest) that it would be legitimate to pay 20 people for lazy work but should this work be done better by four people the earnings would be considered illegal; they were not paid out, thus triggered disputes..." (12, p 13). The point is that the danger of distorting the socialist principle of distribution relations takes us in an entirely different direction. As was emphasized at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "The point now is to formulate specific and efficient measures to purge the distribution mechanism from equalization...." (4).

The concept of excessive income is based on the fact that usually payment based on contract is considered as the earnings of the head of the family. Yet, it should be considered as the overall income of all family members participating in the labor process. Furthermore, we should remember that part or the entire volume of work based on the family contracts is done by the

rural workers outside their working day in public production and that this should be considered overtime, which is paid higher. In the case of animal husbandry, unquestionably, we cannot ignore the need to compensate the workers for the wear and tear of livestock premises they use to raise the public-farm cattle. We must also take into consideration the high quality of the output (something which is still poorly reflected in price setting and wages).

In crop growing, where additional manpower is recruited during the peak farm season, the use of the family contract, which eliminates the need for outside help, promises substantial economic benefits, for the labor productivity of "outside" workers is lower by several hundred percent compared to that of the members of a contracting brigade. The family contract enables us to save not only on wages in agriculture but also on the wages of those "recruited" from their main jobs. That is why increasing the wages of workers employed on the basis of a family contract, as part of such saved funds is natural.

Is scientific and technical progress compatible with the family contract? Above all, we must properly assess the difficulty of the problem of reducing and replacing manual labor in agriculture with machines and mechanisms. At the present time three-quarters of all workers in agriculture are engaged in manual labor (8); the figure is even higher in some sectors and individual sections. First, the party's stipulation of accelerating scientific and technical progress, including in agriculture, does not mean that such acceleration can be achieved "in one fell swoop." Second, the family contract also could be applied in highly mechanized production. We know of cases of family teams, armed with proper equipment, undertaking the cultivation of several hundred hectares of assigned plowland. There is nothing incredible in this, the more so when we speak of combining the family contract with other forms of labor organization, the collective contract in particular.

Although we support the family contract, we do not reject the practice of the use of the brigade (collective) method in the least. Many of the advantages of the family contract apply to the collective contract, some of them to an even greater extent. The collective contract, furthermore, offers a number of social advantages not found in the family contract. However, we should not pit one against the other. Within the brigade, the family contract is the primary stage of the brigade contracting method which includes the totality of contractual relations of individual families and brigade members with the brigade itself as a production subunit which, in turn, maintains contractual relations with the other subdivisions within the agricultural enterprise.

The family contract must be supported and applied in areas where it is economically expedient and where the necessary conditions for it exist, as well as should the workers themselves express the wish to apply it. We do not believe in the least that the family contract has no shortcomings. However, the advantages of this form of labor organization and wages are greater than its shortcomings. Developing on an experimental basis conditions for the efficient use of the family contract will help it to change the attitude of the working people toward the job and increase production efficiency.

Naturally, it is a question not of artificially imposing the family contract but of expanding its use and making it equal to the other forms of labor

organization. Production collectives, should they decide to adopt the contract method, should be given the right to choose it if they wish. "Socialism," V.I. Lenin emphasized, "is not created by ukase from above. Official bureaucratic automatism is alien to its spirit; live and creative socialism is the work of the people's masses themselves" (1).

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**STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN IMPROVED WELL-BEING TRENDS (RESULTS OF A COMPREHENSIVE STUDY)**

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[Text] The dynamic development of the Soviet economy is the base for upgrading the people's well-being and achieving the main objective of social progress under socialism. During the preceding 5-year plan periods, extensive social programs were implemented in the material and cultural life of the people on the basis of the growth of the national income and the consumption fund, although economic growth rates showed a certain declining trend. Between 1970 and 1985 the national income increased by a factor of 1.8; the consumption fund nearly doubled; real income increased by 60 percent; the average wage of workers and employees increased by 56 percent and social consumption funds by a factor of 2.3.

Major material changes occurred during the 9th 5-Year Plan. Increased minimal wages and wage rates and salaries of workers and employees in material production and of physicians, teachers, and educators in preschool institutions, the introduction of additional regional coefficients, supplements for labor seniority and increased night-time wage differentials in industry raised the wages of workers and employees by 20 percent and of kolkhoz members by 25 percent.

Minimal old-age pensions of workers, employees and kolkhoz members were increased with the development of social consumption funds; pensions of the handicapped and families who have lost their bread-winner were improved; additional benefits were instituted for disabled Great Patriotic War veterans and families of those who died in the war. Furthermore, food norm



expenditures for hospitals, Pioneer camps, vocational and technical schools and homes for the old and the disabled were increased and so were VUZ and technical school scholarships. Payments and benefits to the population increased by a factor of 1.4. Housing totaling 544 million square meters was built. The level of state retail prices remained stable; trade increased 36 percent and the volume of consumer services by a factor of 1.6. The conversion to universal secondary education was completed in its essential lines. The network of institutions within the social infrastructure, such as schools, vocational technical schools, clubs, libraries, hospitals, polyclinics, and sports stadiums and enclosed premises, was expanded.

The implementation of steps taken to raise minimum wages while, at the same time, increasing wage rates and salaries of averagely-paid worker categories, expansion of regional supplements and night-time differentials continued during the 10th 5-Year Plan. The average wages of workers and employees increased by 17 percent. Better salaries to kolkhoz members increased their earning from the public farms by 26 percent. The 28-percent increase in payments and benefits from public funds enabled us to continue to expand the network of institutions within the social infrastructure and to increase the pensions of individual categories of retirees. The housing fund increased by 527 million square meters.

The social program for the 11th 5-Year Plan, which was adopted at the 26th CPSU Congress, was based on the increased share of the consumption fund in the national income. This enabled us to implement more extensive measures in the area of the people's well-being. The USSR Food Program for the period until 1990 was adopted. A comprehensive program for the development of the production of consumer goods and services for 1986-2000 was drafted, aimed at comprehensively increasing production and improving the quality and variety of population goods and services.

Approximately 10 billion rubles will be allocated for further wage increases. This will raise the average wage to 190.6 rubles. Wages of teachers and other personnel in public education, people employed in the coal industry and managers of agricultural enterprises will be raised on a centralized basis. Supplements for uninterrupted labor in some parts of the country and economic sectors will be introduced. Earnings of kolkhoz members from the public farms will be increased to 150 rubles monthly.

A wide range of measures have been carried out as a result of the growth of social consumption funds. Nine billion rubles will be allocated for maternity leave and care for children under the age of one alone. A 50-ruble one-time state aid will be paid for giving birth to a first child and 100 rubles for a second and a third. Aid to single mothers with children under 16 has been increased substantially. Minimal pensions to kolkhoz members and pensions granted until 1975 have been increased. Substantial benefits have been introduced for Great Patriotic War veterans. Social consumption funds will total 147 billion rubles in 1985.

Such is the general picture. However, the dynamics of the well-being is characterized today by profound structural changes which determine the efficiency of social programs.

The socioeconomic study conducted within the framework of the Taganrog-I project dealt with these rather complex processes.

General description of the Taganrog-II research project. The main part of the national economic plans for the socioeconomic development of the country is a set of steps aimed at resolving topical socioeconomic problems. The task is to find an optimal set of such measures with a view to achieving maximal results from the utilization of social resources. The solution of this problem is possible only on the basis of studying the experience gained in the formulation and implementation of social programs and in determining the reasons and factors for the deviation of real processes from the plans and for improving the means and methods for the substantiation of projects. In this respect socioeconomic studies of the living standard and way of life of the population play an important role, for they allow us to acquire essentially new knowledge concerning phenomena in the area of the people's well-being. The Taganrog-II project is one such study.

A similar project (Taganrog-I) was carried out in 1967-1968 in the course of a comprehensive study of the socioeconomic problems of an industrial center, based on the city of Taganrog. The population's living standard was the target of a separate study in addition to the study of the mass social consciousness, forms and methods of ideological work, content and nature of time use by various groups of working people, social consequences of the introduction of the 5-day work week and other aspects of urban life (the main results of the Taganrog-I project are described in (1-2)).

The fundamental importance of the human factor in terms of social progress and acceleration of socioeconomic development makes studies of the people's well-being and the mechanisms governing its shaping and laws of development particularly relevant. Based on summed up statistical data on the population structure, national income, consumption funds, wages, free goods and services, volumes of output of commodities and development of the service industry, trade, savings, etc., the most general trends in the growth of the people's well-being can be determined without clarifying the internal mechanisms which regulate such processes. The task, however, is precisely to penetrate to the heart of such phenomena. This calls for a consideration of a lower level of study of the well-being phenomenon--the "microlevel"--corresponding to the activities and behavior of the family as the socioeconomic social nucleus. This enables us to determine not only the general laws but also the characteristics of occurring processes and the entire wealth of internal and external interrelationships. The people's well-being which synthesizes the characteristics of the standard and way and quality of life, is not their mathematical total but only some of their most important aspects.

The purpose of the Taganrog-II project was a comprehensive study of the objective picture of the people's well-being in a typical large industrial center. Inevitably, two questions arise in assessing the results of the project. The first pertains to the selecting a typical city, which is particularly important in the formulation of social well-being problems. This question is important not only in terms of the final assessment of the results of the studies conducted in Taganrog but also in drawing more general conclusions of the organization of such projects. The ability to identify a

typical city enables us to select the right research target and to develop a system of cities considered sufficiently representative for the country at large. The second question is the relevance of the data, considering that the studies were conducted several years ago.

Taganrog is a typical average industrial center in the Russian Federation. It has no special features which would single it out among the sum total of cities (the results were obtained on the basis of the typological breakdown of 100 industrial centers in the RSFSR). Furthermore, data for Taganrog were compared with data for the RSFSR and the country as a whole; no substantial deviations from the viewpoint of the tasks facing the researchers were found.

Obviously, the time since the Taganrog-II project was completed introduced some corrections to the situation. However, this is of no essential significance in the study of the social mechanisms. Furthermore, we made the necessary alterations to the data.

The comprehensive study of well-being, which was conducted in 1977-1978, was based on a program broader than the 1967-1968 one. Thus, the Taganrog-II Project included five subprojects each one of which had its own specific targets and instruments.

The first subproject "Living Standard and Socioeconomic Problems of Well-Being," presumed the solution of the following problems: 1. determining the basic features of the population's life in an industrial center; 2. formulating the main socioeconomic problems in the area of people's well-being and determining the trends and means of resolving them; 3. studying the trends and laws governing the development of the living standards of the urban population for the preceding decade (1968-1978). The implementation of this subproject presumed the use of three types of data, the main one of which was a survey of 3,000 families. The survey was based on the ability to make a maximal comparison between the data and the material from the preceding study. The choice of families was random, based on the territorial principle which ensured the adequate representativeness of the resulting data. The second source of information was budget studies (about 100 budgets) conducted by statistical authorities in Taganrog. However, the study of family budgets (nature of the selection and information-gathering method) does not ensure representative data for individual categories and for the country at large, for which reasons such data could be used as auxiliary information only. Finally, the 1979 population census and statistical data on the balance between monetary income and expenditures were of major importance.

The task of the second project "Trade and Public Catering: Supply and Demand" was to determine the existing correlation between solvent demand and commodity supply, in order to establish its influence on the level of the living standard of the population in an industrial city. The intention was to determine the overall volume and structure of population demand in a city for food and industrial commodities and the reasons for unsatisfied demand and to identify the social consequences of the scarcity of consumer goods compared with purchasing capacity. At the same time, the basic quality characteristics of the retail trade network, which directly influence the population's standard and way of life, were studied. They included, above all, the



population's satisfaction with the work of trade enterprises, above all in terms of the variety and quality of available goods; changes in customer displacement in search of necessary commodities; time spent looking for and purchasing necessary items; availability of trade service means and methods convenient to the customers.

The subproject was based on statistical data on available market stocks and volume and structure of commodity sales. Furthermore, a survey of customers was conducted at trade enterprises to determine the amount of time spent in making purchases, satisfaction with commodities and reasons for customer dissatisfaction. The main survey included questions on "forced" savings; the resulting data were used in determining the structure of unsatisfied demand.

The purpose of the third subproject "Way of Life and Consumption of Culture," was to establish the set of socioeconomic problems arising in involving the population with culture, the consumption of cultural goods and shaping sociocultural activeness. The main tasks were reduced to determining the sociodemographic characteristics of the urban population acting as resources (determinants) of its sociocultural activeness; the development of a typology of existing forms of way of life on the basis of the study of population behavior in cultural areas; and study of trends governing the establishment of a network of cultural services and their link with the attained level of cultural needs.

The subproject was based on a three-step survey system. The first involved a survey of 2,000 families, covering population behavior in the consumption of culture and sociocultural activities; the second was a repeated survey of 600 families with a view to determining the typological breakdown of consumers; the third was a monograph study of 100 to 150 of the 600 families.

The purpose of the fourth subproject "The Urban Family and Its Development Trends" was a study of socioeconomic and demographic dynamics of families from the time of their establishment. Data on socioeconomic and demographic family structures were obtained on the basis of a survey using the anamnestic method. The survey was conducted with formalized interview. The selection included 750 couples with children, married from 5 to 25 years.

The fifth subproject "Population Health in a Large Industrial City" studied the socioeconomic aspects of the interconnection between health and basic aspects of the population's living standard and way of life. The task was to draft recommendations on regulating the living conditions of families with a view to increasing their positive influence on human health. The project called for the following: 1. formulating a consolidated indicator (integral assessment) of individual health and study of the laws governing health changes during the life cycle of individuals; 2. study of the basic characteristics of the population's living conditions and way of life, based on the state of their health; 3. rate the main components of well-being by the extent of their influence on health and draw up a scale of priorities relative to health improvement measures; 4. draft a typology of the population and the families based on the extent of their "health resources." This was accomplished through a survey based on formal interviews, medical



conclusions, and medical records of visits to prophylactic establishments for purposes of treatment.

All subprojects were interrelated on the basis of the research target. The first was aimed at studying the consumer and the conditions governing his activities and behavior in the consumption area; the third enabled us to analyze the way of life and to consider population behavior in the production and consumption of cultural goods; the health subproject was focused on studying the quality of life through the analysis of the main characteristics of the population and the social organism itself; the purpose of the "Family Development" subproject was to determine the correlation among the individual aspects of the people's well-being in its dynamics; that of the "Trade" subproject was to establish the interconnection among individual problems of people's well-being.

The information (essentially from surveys) obtained for all five subprojects was processed with the help of a computer. This required the formulation of a system for processing socioeconomic data.

Basic theoretical and methodological results. New results were obtained from the study of the data from the individual subprojects at their synthesizing within the overall study. Thus, definitions were set up for the concepts of the standard, way, and quality of life (3). Furthermore, the studies conducted in Taganrog enabled us to formulate a new approach to forecasting and planning the people's well-being and, above all, to take into consideration the gravity and specific nature of socioeconomic problems.

Currently, forecasts of people's well-being use the standard-rational methodology, based on rational standards and a rational consumer budget. This methodology is mainly based on production. If we know the needs of the population, based on standards, the task is to develop production at the highest possible rate in order to reach these standards, which is the equivalent of satisfying demand. At the same time, it is assumed that in the course of social development needs will increase and, consequently, standards will be refined and new production tasks will be set. However, problems of the manner in which needs will develop and the manner in which the production process must be expanded remain unsolved.

However, not all problems of the people's well-being can be resolved by increasing the volume and scale of output, for needs and production are in a state of dialectical interconnection. The standard-rational approach does not cover all problems of people's well-being, for the basic standards apply only to the consumption area, whereas well-being covers all realms of human activities (although to different extents).

The problem-oriented methodology enables us to approach problems of the growth of the people's well-being from the standpoint of social efficiency, for the purpose of the individual steps is to solve specific socioeconomic problems. This was confirmed by the practice of the formulation of plans and forecasts. Thus, the formulation of the Comprehensive Program for the Development of Consumer Goods and Services in 1986-2000 stipulated that it is much more efficient to proceed not on the basis of consumer standards but of problems

which express in a certain manner "relative standards," for they reflect the correlation between the desired and the actual levels of satisfaction of requirements.

It would be expedient to speak not only of the efficiency of output, labor, utilization of production resources, etc., but also of the efficiency of social measures and social programs as a whole. Their efficiency should be assessed not only from the viewpoint of their impact on production intensiveness and economic development but also of resolving the socioeconomic problems, which is the purpose of the specific measures. Considering the available resources, the greater the extent of solving socioeconomic problems the greater the efficiency of the social measure becomes.

The Taganrog study enabled us to acquire new knowledge of some socioeconomic mechanisms determining the behavior of individual population groups in various areas of activity.

The cumulative nature of shaping the needs for cultural goods and the acquisitive effect of the population's sociocultural activities were determined on the basis of Guttman's latent scale (4). Sociocultural occupations positively intercorrelate by reciprocally supplementing each other. The previous opinion to the effect that some types of occupation compete among each other, i.e., that some are replaced by others, proved unfounded. Actually, such occupations have a tendency to expand as their structures change.

This essentially new view on the specific features shaping population, cultural requirements is of major practical significance in defining the areas in which to develop cultural services. It was used as a basis for structuring a typology of the way of life of individual population groups in the area of sociocultural activities. In the course of the study, areas of "accessibility" and "saturation" in the consumption of cultural goods were determined, which made it possible to define more precisely the range of consumers and, consequently, the social need for specific cultural goods. At the beginning of the 1980s the threshold of "accessibility" of the popular types of exposure to culture averaged 85 rubles monthly per person, while the "saturation" point was 125 rubles. Approximately 65 percent of the population was within the "accessibility zone," and 24 percent were in the "saturation zone." The rest of the population was on a level in which income was a limiting factor in involvements with culture.

As a result of the studies, an essentially new conclusion was reached concerning the "spasmodic" dependency of consumer behavior on income. This applies to the existence of consumption "levels" correlative with specific income levels. Each such level has its standard of consumer behavior and the transition from one level to another is spasmodic, related to a certain accumulation effect. This was manifested in terms of the concept of durable goods and indicators of the overall satisfaction of the families with their consumption level. Three consumer levels were defined, the borderline values of which are 70, 115 and 145 rubles per month per person (5, pp 132-142). In a certain sense, these thresholds are of a critical nature, for they determine

the behavior of the person not only in consumption but in other areas of activity as well. They also apply to the state of health.

The "undulating" dynamics of material security of a family in the course of its life cycle is of unquestionable interest. Thus, the first 20 years in the life of a family are characterized by a gradual decline of income; the next 20 years (the "age" of a family between 20 and 40 years) are distinguished by a gradual increase, which is followed by a sharp lowering of material security.

New methodical solutions. The organization of such an extensive (in terms of its program), comprehensive and, furthermore, repeated survey raised a number of methodological problems, in the course of which some new results were obtained concerning the information obtaining and processing method. In this connection, four paramount conclusions may be drawn.

The first applies to the use of the method of time observations in the study of consumption. The system of family budget studies conducted by the USSR Central Statistical Administration, organized on the "related method" basis, makes obtaining information a somewhat labor-intensive process (6). The method based on the "sliding" method for obtaining information offers substantially greater possibilities and proves to be significantly more efficient. Until recently, however, the question the "consumption time" for various consumer goods, which depends on the periodical nature of the purchase of goods and services, remained unanswered. As a result of special work done on this subject in the course of working on the "Living Standard and Socioeconomic Problems of Well-Being" subproject, a diagram of information "retrieval times" was drawn up, noting purchases of food and other non-durable goods over a one-week period, durable and semidurable goods over one year and services over the previous month.

This diagram is particularly significant. It is the base for the reorganization of the budget system which today is based on principles already formulated by prerevolutionary statisticians: a "rigid" observation program, sectorial choice of families, and "related" method for obtaining information. The budget network has existed since 1953. At that time it included 10,000 families. In the past more than 30 years it increased to 62,000 without, however, experiencing any essential changes, i.e., it did not become any more representative or efficient. The scale of the studies only increases government costs of collecting and processing information without improving its quality. Yet family budgets are the only source of data on the population's consumer behavior, the quality of which determines the accuracy of social decision making.

The reorganization of the budget network based on the time observation method would allow the following: 1. to make information representative not only for the country at large but for individual areas, which is particularly important; 2. to use it in plan computations, whereas today it is merely a study topic; 3. to adapt better the study program to changing tasks in the area of social policy.

The second method-oriented conclusion deals with the specific nature of the tools used. The scope of the research program and the extensive volume of



information to be gathered (eight different surveys were made), on the one hand, and the limited resources for such studies, on the other, led to the adoption of an essentially new method for designing the instruments to be used, which could be described as modular. Essentially, this means that each survey deals with the family and includes a set of questions characterizing its sociodemographic characteristics. These questions were the main module. Depending on the area covered by the subproject and the task of the specific survey, additional modules were added covering living conditions, family behavior in different areas of activity, the features of the subjects of such activities, etc. This allows the sociodemographic classification of the family and enables us to change and combine additional modules and to determine the overall features of well-being of individual population groups and strata. This substantially enhances the efficiency of collecting and processing raw data.

The study of the life cycle of the family and its development was based on a combination of methods of conventional (hypothetical) and actual (cohort) study of generations (5, pp 36-49). The solution of a set of methodical problems enabled us to undertake the formulation of a standard method for systematic studies of the people's well-being. In assessing the dynamics of living standards we determined the way in which overall indicators pertaining to the population and the country at large were reflected in a specific area--the population of a large industrial center.

Main practical results. In the course of the implementation of the project a study was made of a basic set of problems of well-being; their roots, content and likely consequences were identified. Furthermore, the identified problems were compared to those formulated 10 years ago.

Traditionally, starting with the end of the 1950s, researchers studying the population's living standard have focused on problems related to the existence of low-paid workers strata and low-income population strata. However, long and comprehensive studies of this area led us to the conclusion that no problems of "low-paid and low-income" strata exist in their pure aspect, for under the conditions of distribution according to labor such population categories will always exist. What exist is an average level of wages and an average income and a certain range within such averages. That is why there will always be strata with below-average wages and income. All that will change will be the threshold levels of low wages and low income. In itself, eliminating low-paid workers and low-income families does not have a real socioeconomic content. It is merely the consequence of imperfections in the area of distribution relations (wages, pensions, etc.).

As to low-wage earners, over the past 10 years their structure has changed significantly. This category exist above all as a result of the relatively low wages paid in the nonproduction sphere. Only some of the low-paid workers are unskilled, for due to the scarcity of such workers, their wages are higher than their labor contribution. As a result, less than one-third of unskilled workers earn low salaries.

Therefore, problems of low wages are related to the elimination of unskilled labor, perfecting wages as a whole, in the production and nonproduction areas



areas above all, and to the proper determination of the growth rate of minimal wages (bearing in mind that this is a question of a certain social standard, the level of which guarantees minimally acceptable consumption, consistent with the overall improvement of well-being at each specific point in time).

Studies indicate that from the end of the 1950s to the beginning of the 1970s minimal wages increased faster than the overall level of well-being. During the 1970s and 1980s the opposite prevailed: minimal wages began to fall behind improvements in the average living standard. As a result, the actual minimum is above the official legally set one (according to our data, at the beginning of the 1980s it was not 70 but approximately 85 rubles).

Even while the Taganrog-I project was being implemented, it was determined that despite the durable views, a low income was not only and solely the consequence of having a large number of children but also the result of child support (even of only one or two), and of low pensions and student scholarships. Ten years later, this situation was not only confirmed but became even clearer.

To a large extent low income is related to the problem of state support. However, despite the special measures which were taken (aid for children of low-income families was introduced in 1974) the percentage of such families did not change (taking to consideration changes in the low-income threshold). The reason for a low income is the temporary unemployment of able-bodied individuals, two-thirds of whom are mothers who have dropped out of production work in order to care for small children (at a time of the study they were still not receiving the 35-ruble aid. Naturally, this aid reduced the number of low income families). Further improvements and expansion of corresponding benefits will enable them to combine raising children with participation in public labor.

The main socioeconomic problem in the people's well-being is improving the organization of wages on the basis of the systematic implementation of the labor principle of distribution. Within a single decade (1968-1978) a large number of steps were taken in the area of wages, which led to an increase in the minimal wages by 50 percent and, subsequently, to the 70-ruble level, including an increase in the medium-wage rate. As a result, starting with the end of the 1960s, equalization trends were clearly manifested and remained through the 1970s. This process was then terminated. In 1981, however, wage differentiation had still not reached the 1964 and 1966 levels. It is important to note that some changes occurred as a result of intersectorial and interregional differences and that intrasectorial differentiation, which had above all the function of providing material incentive for labor contribution, continued to decline. The equalization trend also contributed to the scarcity of manpower, particularly unskilled, which triggered further uncontrolled wage increases for such labor.

Data of the Taganrog-II project confirmed that a certain increase in wage differentiation, which took place toward the end of the 1970s, was determined by yet another economically unsubstantiated reason, which was that some unskilled workers became highly paid and a considerable percentage of specialist with higher and secondary training became average- and low-paid. A

certain inversion (the "inversion" effect) took place in the classification of workers and employees according to wage size, which entailed a certain increase in disparities in wages and led to consequences which distorted the correlation between the measure of labor and wages. The main conclusion which can be drawn from the study of the dynamics and level of wage differentiation may be reduced to the following: the equalization trend, which violates ratios and the guiding principles governing payment for labor, remains.

This problem can be resolved by developing a comprehensive program for improving the organization of wages, which should include a system of measures aimed at gradually eliminating the existing forms of violations of the labor principle of distribution, i.e., the correlation between the wages of under- and high-skilled workers, workers performing mental and physical labor, labor of different quality (particularly in the nonproduction area) and wages for the same type of work but in different economic sectors, i.e., differences based on labor intensiveness, skill, quality and efficiency. The preservation and increase of objectively necessary wage differentials requires a strict consistency with growth rates of minimal and average wages, i.e., with the corresponding growth rates of wages as a whole.

Considering the limited nature of social resources, two solutions are possible in resolving the problem of state aid to families raising the growing generation: either aid for children of low-income families, or else paid leave to women who have given birth, gradually increasing for a period of 3 years and differentiated according to their earning level. Both have been tested in practice and have indicated that the second is preferable, for aid for children of low income families led to a certain withdrawal of women from public production, above all in areas where the purpose was precisely the opposite. The bulk of the funds appropriated for this measure went to large families, where the number of children increased somewhat and where dependency became even greater. As to extending the paid leave of new, which had no such negative consequences, this measure contributed to a certain increase in the birth rate among all populations strata and groups.

During the period under consideration a number of steps were taken to improve the material, living and other conditions of pensioners, aimed at increasing minimal pensions. Furthermore, the studies conducted within the framework of the Taganrog-II project indicated that the gap between wages and average pensions remained unchanged, that there was intensive equalization of old-age pensions and that pensions did not reflect the full amount of past labor. New data were obtained on the existing system of involving old-age pensioners in work by allowing them to receive their pension in addition to their wages. As a whole and as a rule the pensioners' income is inconsistent with their labor, for it is only a residual ability to work that can be applied in the postretirement period. Furthermore, the families of working retirees have the highest income, which is 25 percent above that of families of workers and employees and twice that of families of nonworking retirees. This introduces substantial disparities in the living standards of old-age pensioners, which is neither economically nor, even more so, socially justified.

Studies indicated that the main reason for the participation of pensioners in public production is the need to help their children and grandchildren which,

in principle, intensifies dependency feedings among young people. A "transfer" of income from families of working pensioners to young families, where the mother is unemployed because of caring for small children takes place, i.e., something like making free loans to young people. We consider more efficient the comprehensive application of the "deferred payments" principle, according to which a worker entitled to a pension will receive nothing but his salary if employed but a substantially higher pension on his retirement.

In the implementation of the Taganrog-I project, attention was focused on the housing problem, which was essentially reduced not only to the relatively low housing availability but also the totally unjustified housing disparities among individual population groups and strata.

During the period under consideration the average availability increased and so did the percentage of families living in separate apartments, etc. Nevertheless, the problem of housing availability, considered as a disparity between needs and possibilities for its satisfaction, remains grave. In our view, the solution of the housing problem should follow less the line of increasing the scale of housing construction than radically improving the organization of housing allocation, without which the efficient utilization of the existing and newly created housing is impossible. Socially guaranteed standards must become the base for improving housing allocations (7).

The most favorable trends for the past 10 years were noted in the development of the social consumption funds, which lowered the differentiation in the level of availability of social services used by different social groups. Furthermore, a certain redistribution of social funds took place in favor of low-income individuals. However, we cannot fail to note the primarily extensive way of their development, which greatly aggravated the quality problem. Low quality led to reduced efficiency in the utilization of social consumption funds and unorganized income redistribution, according to which improved quality of services is obtained against "additional payments," and a deformation of population demand for social services. Today the main task in the development in the social infrastructure is less to broaden the area covered by social services than to improve their quality in all respects.

The study of the interconnection between the indicators of population health, which determined risk groups and premorbid conditions, rather than morbidity and mortality, led to the realization of the importance of the role of working conditions and the quality of nutrition and housing. Health is of absolute and permanent value to the bulk of the population. This must be comprehensively taken into consideration in the formulation of specific social measures. In addition to people suffering from chronic illnesses, particular attention should be paid to population groups living under premorbidity conditions.

In considering the problem of the utilization of cultural goods we should bear in mind that, on the one hand, the level of such consumption is relatively low and that population needs remain unsatisfied; on the other, that a surplus exist in the availability of cultural commodities and services offered by cultural institutions. We singled out two groups of reasons: the first is



related to the inadequate quality of cultural goods and services; the second, to the disparity between the needs of individual population groups for cultural goods and their availability in the respective parts of the country. The latter circumstance shows up in the fact that the development of the system of cultural services takes place regardless of the needs and "resources" for the consumption of cultural goods (income, education, leisure time, etc.) available to the population. The system of cultural services must be converted from extensive to intensive by setting up large regional cultural centers based on the specific needs of the various population groups and strata. Social centers must be set up in residential areas, to provide services close to home.

Some symptoms of family structure instability, not always detected through official statistics, were noted in the implementation of the Taganrog-I project. A number of steps were taken over the past decade in the field of demographic policy, the purpose of which was to help strengthen the family. However, the expected results did not take place. Studies indicate that the main reasons for such a developing situation are related to the low starting level of the income of young families. This problem can be resolved by providing young families with their own housing, granting them consumer loans and increasing the paid leave of women caring for children.

The consideration of the social problems of the people's well-being within a 10-year interval, against the background of the social measures implemented during the 9th and 10th 5-year plans, is particularly important in connection with the formulation of the Basic Directions in the Economic and Social Development of the USSR in 1986-1990 and the Period Until the Year 2000. Resources may be used in such a way as to yield the highest results not only in production but in the social area as well, considerably advancing the solution of the socioeconomic problems of well-being. The study of the social steps taken during the 9th and 10th 5-year plans indicates that they were not always maximally efficient. In some cases resources were expended in such a way that the problem not only remained unresolved but was even further aggravated. A future social program must be assessed not only of the basis of expenditures (resources required for the implementation of one measure or another) but also the extent to which specific social problems can be solved.

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## DISCUSSIONS

### ECONOMIC MECHANISM UNDER THE CONDITIONS OF INTENSIVE SOCIOECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 34-40

[Article by Dr of Economic Sciences Yuriy Viktorovich Sukhotin, Senior Scientific Associate, USSR Academy of Sciences TsEMI. Author of the monograph "Effektivnost Kapitalnykh Vlozheniy i Mezhotraslevyye Svyazi" [Efficiency of Capital Investments and Intersectorial Relations] (1966). This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The concept of the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country on the basis of scientific and technical progress, which was formulated at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, presumes the maximal utilization of the human factor (3). The debate underway in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA is noteworthy above all for its orientation toward a search for social reserves for perfecting the economic mechanism.

Although sharply criticizing shortcomings in economic practices, the economists and sociologists participating in scientific debates rarely conceive of the economic mechanism as an interrelated entity. "...In terms of the quality of the levers for a conversion to an intensive economy, many scientist offer nothing but the expansion and strengthening of the role of commodity relations. In fact, such an approach means an underestimating of the scale and complexity of crucial changes in the economic mechanism. Yet this process affects the economic mechanism in its entirety and the entire system of planned centralized economic management with the entire set of their specific methods and tools, including commodity-monetary ones" (4, p 112).

For the time being, the contemporary economic mechanism still retains rudiments of its former development and can be described most justifiably as traditional. Such a mechanism operates quite successfully during the initial primarily extensive stages, including socialism. Something else is equally obvious. The great durability of the traditional mechanism and its resistance to progressive new developments are not only the result of its conservative nature but also the fact that it continues to perform some important socially useful functions. All of this demands an explanation.

The characteristic feature of the traditional mechanism is its "resource-absorbing" orientation. Here production results are increased mainly through the additional involvement of resources rather than upgrading their productivity. Such economic functioning is justified for as long as the national economy has extensive "prime" reserves (manpower and raw material sources) outside the public production process. Although applied, technical retooling has not as yet become an internal requirement of economic activities. Negative trends, however, intensify gradually. The orientation toward resource-absorption intensifies a reaction of overinsurance against supply difficulties. The enterprises direct their efforts toward easing their planned assignments and comprehensive increases in capital investments, assets and additional raw materials. The efforts of managing authorities to correct the situation by increasing assignments "on the basis of past accomplishments" merely intensify the reinsurance reaction.

However, in its time the "resource-absorbing" trend of the traditional mechanism played a positive role by ensuring full employment for the able-bodied population. This is a social accomplishment which cannot be achieved merely by officially proclaiming a right to work. To this day the economic guarantee of universal employment ensures the freedom of choice of employment and a job (the opposite side of this system is a lowered interest in upgrading individual productivity). Obviously, an intensive type of economic mechanism must have full and quite efficient substitutes for the useful functions performed by its predecessor.

The imperfection of the system of motivations for work and thrifty economic management is manifested in the poor development of the competitive principle. Thus, no more than about 5 percent of bonuses are paid on the basis of competition results. The balance is accounted for by the noncompetitive forms of economic incentive (5, p 23). In our view, it would be incorrect to consider poor material incentive "the economic reason for formalism in the competition" (5, p 22). Rather the opposite, for both facts are the consequence of the hegemony of the direct motivations inherent in the traditional mechanism (production assignments and output norms), which psychologically look like "more reliable" management methods (5, p 21).

What specifically could future society use to replace competition, which is the motivation of the private capitalist economy? The answer to this question raised by the utopian socialist was provided by the Marxist classics. They conceived of the competition as a systematically organized and controlled competitiveness, which included guarantees against the worsening of the socioeconomic situation of any one of the participants. As V.I. Lenin pointed out, the socialist organization of the competition presumes the conscious regulation of the conditions and forms of development so that it may take place "in human rather than savage ways" (1, p 151).

Interesting from this point of view is the concept of the socialist competition as formulated by V.M. Yakushev. His concept is interesting not only because of its experimental nature but also because of the author's theoretical conclusions. Here competitiveness is conceived not as an isolated phenomenon but as an element within the general system of motivations

(imperatives) for action in the latter cannot be reduced to "pure" competitiveness regardless of the economic system.

It would be expedient, in order to clarify the nature of the problem, to compare the imperatives of production activities under capitalism and socialism. Rivalry among companies is a classic example of commodity-capitalist competitiveness. The uncontrolled and extremely rigid nature of the rivalry are its specific features. Such competitiveness is not of equal value in terms of the influence it exerts on social production efficiency. On the one hand, the desire to survive in an uneven struggle stimulates activeness and inventiveness, improved production quality and better services to the consumers. On the other hand, the mass dropping out of producers means that surplus material and manpower resources invested in each economic sector, are doomed to partial or total elimination and destruction.

Unlike company motivations, competitiveness among hired personnel plays no role as a main motivation for action. It is manifested above all outside the production process, as competitiveness among those who sell their manpower. Within the production system it is limited to the aspiration to be no worse than the others, to be outside the "danger zone" of dismissal. The main intraplant imperatives for labor originate with the capitalist and operate as a strictly regulated system of direct assignments and production norms as well as disciplinary and economic penalties. As the historically first form of labor organization in industry, direct order-norm management is still considered by many the only possible way to implement a plan (6, p 68), although its negative sides are unquestionable: it promotes an interest on the part of the performers to obtain reduced norms and assignments as a means of achieving a better rating of their work and the intensification of such requirements "from above" meets with opposition "from below."

In its early stage (the traditional economic mechanism) the socialist economy not only inherited the order-norm imperative as an intraplant management instrument but also extended it to the entire national economy as the only method for the planned organization of production existing at that time and tested through practical experience. V.I. Lenin emphasized that "we are not inventing the organizational form of work but are borrowing it ready-made from capitalism" (2, p 12). Let us note that such borrowing is not equivalent to a transfer into socialism of any given element of the capitalist social system. In noting the existence in different social systems of similar economic phenomena and mechanisms, the Marxist classics proved the radical differences existing in their social content, determined by dominating ownership relations. This was accomplished with particular thoroughness by K. Marx in the third volume of "Das Kapital" in the case of rental and interest payments. The existence of these categories in bourgeois economy did not mean transferring to it futile quit-rent or usurious interest rates. Equally erroneous are efforts to interpret purchase and sale relations under socialism as a re-creation of a free market economy.

The use of the order imperative in the socialist economy is based on the elimination of the dropout mechanisms and the appearance of responsibility for the implementation of assignments not only by the direct performers but the managers as well. The latter become very close to the performers and are



inclined to meet their aspirations. This cannot fail to increase the internal effect of the order imperative—a motivation to facilitate assignments. Such a trend gains the upper hand although, in the final account, it turns for the producer himself into worsened procurements and services as the direct consequences of "nonintensive" work.

At the start of the establishment of the economic mechanism the aspirations of producers (workers in terms of wages, and enterprises in terms of availability of resources) increased and were satisfied in approximately the same proportion as their output. As manpower becomes a scarce commodity (scarce not "in general" but in terms of continued extensive growth) producers reacted to the changed circumstances not by increasing labor intensiveness but by involving additional insurance mechanisms, i.e., they broadened the scale of utilization of resources. This was accompanied by references to supply difficulties threatening the implementation of the state plan. It also became clear that the extensive opportunities for transferring to other enterprises turned production norms from a means of controlling labor returns into an instrument for keeping earnings at a level needed to retain cadres (6, pp 69-70). Centralized control over wage funds offers a certain protection from unrestrained wage increases. However, it too cannot be used as an incentive for higher labor returns.

The essence of the system suggested by V.M. Yakushev is the transformation of the competition imperative from secondary to basic activity regulator. Norms and plans are no longer an imposed directive although they retain their function as carriers of information of attainable results. Direct orders play the role of day-to-day dispatcher management. The systematic organization and supervision of all aspects of the competition, from the formulation of rules and criteria for assessing results to summing them up, must be consistent with extensive possibilities of the simultaneous participation of producers, consumers and management authorities. Discrimination against those who fall behind could be eliminated with a number of steps such as, for example, acknowledging as socially normal the work of any participant who meets the minimal "qualification standard." The level of the latter may be determined according to the "diminishing returns" rule: the greater the social need for a commodity, the lower the standard (for it would be economically justified to involve in the production process not only the highly productive but also the underproductive workers) and vice versa. The participants who fail to meet the norm (an insignificant number) should try their forces in other types of employment, to which they could be organizationally transferred. The main reason for dropping out of the competition--the unregulated differentiation among participants in the course of the struggle--is eliminated by their systematic classification into groups of approximately equal strength. V.M. Yakushev experimentally tested the advantages of the new competition system, such as a strictly voluntary reciprocal control and interested participation in the formulation of regulations and criteria for assessing results. All of this reliably ensures honest labor rivalry.

Despite some advantages, Yakushev's system has some negative aspects which, unfortunately, have not been analyzed by the author. This includes, for example, the difficulty of organizing the competition among a narrow circle of participants (such as among the biggest enterprises within the same sector).

In this case conspiracies are possible, allowing each enterprise to become the "winner" alternately (and quite frequently), not in the least because of work intensification or improved quality. Actually, the competition among the internal subdivisions of such enterprises could contribute to the improvement of such results.

In a course of the discussion of Yakushev's concept, opponents pointed out the following contradiction (8, p 70). A condition for true competition is the unpredictability of its results. Otherwise it degenerates into a predetermined assignment of roles and distribution of awards. How to combine this with the absolutely necessary predictability of results in a planned economy? Above all, we must specify the type of "results" of the competition we have in mind: is it rating or the level of results? It is hardly important in a planned management to know who among the competitors will assume what place. On the contrary, it is precisely the unknown nature of this result that motivates everyone to work to the maximum of his possibilities that "illuminates" the overall potential of the workers and enables us to predict with great accuracy the end results not only of individual but (which is particularly important) of all participants.

As the potential possibilities are mastered, they increase (technological efficiency, increased cadre skills) in the different participants, although to a different. This preserves the basis for sharp competitiveness even after the level of "planned capacity" has been reached, i.e., when the results of the participants have become relatively stabilized. In the traditional economic mechanism such a situation does not suit the enterprises, for reaching the level of their potential would hinder their even growth "on the basis of achievements." A typical reaction to this is lowering the actual possibility. In the competitive system, conversely, in which reaching plant capacity would be quite fast, in all likelihood the necessity will appear to clearly distinguish between the processes of reaching the potential and its large-scale investment growth. In order to avoid sharp changes in the ratio of forces within a given group of participants with a strongly increased "capacity," they should be moved to a higher "weight category." This also means that all investment processes must be kept under particular social supervision. Under the new conditions, investment activities must ensure the timely opening of jobs for workers released as a result of production intensification. In the capitalist economy, where the main production investors are private companies and corporations, the volume of investments is one of the most unstable economic variables and is always behind the amount of accumulations. That is why all concepts for increasing employment based on Keynes' prescriptions are based on efforts to interest and stimulate private investors. In a socialist economy, the broad programs for industrial and sociocultural construction can only benefit as a result of releasing additional worker groups.

The classification of enterprises participating in the competition into groups based on their level of production capacity is only half the work. We cannot ignore quality differences in their resources (technological equipment, worker skills, etc.). The principle of having the enterprises make payments for resources as an instrument for equalizing economic management conditions and upgrading conservation and rational utilization of production resources

themselves has been suggested and is being partially applied. The situation should substantially improve with the new competition system.

This enables us to identify the features of the developed economic mechanism and to earmark the main ways of improving it, based on the study of planned economic management and the appearance within this process of activity imperatives, thus avoiding the notorious discussion concerning the commodity or noncommodity nature of our economy. Most economists (including the participants in the debate) place the "commodity-monetary problem" in the center of all problems relative to improving the economic mechanism. The concentration of efforts on a secondary aspect of the problem cannot bring about its satisfactory solution, as reconfirmed by the discussion.

The supporters of commodity relations consider them internally inherent in socialism without, however, explaining how this "commodity nature" can develop from its fundamental principles, such as public ownership, planning, and the direct social nature of labor. Essentially, the main argument here is the insufficient development of such principles (a "certain isolation," incomplete planned predictability, and the need to acknowledge production results after the fact). In this case, however, the slogan of the all-round development of commodity-monetary relations turns out to be an appeal not to perfect socialist economic management but to perpetuate its insufficient maturity. It would be more accurate, while acknowledging that commodity relations are a phenomenon common to different systems, to concentrate on the study of their specific socialist features. Instead, in the guise of "commodity-wide" laws, reference is made to the effect of the law of value in a premonopoly economy. It is suggested, for example, to restore elimination through competition, delicately describing it as "closing down unprofitable enterprises as a measure of economic responsibility" (9, p 30). The formulation of such recommendations without a study of the reasons for lack of profitability, which may be easy to eliminate (in which case the "closing down" would become economically unwise) or else could be objective, independent of the work of the collective (in which case this is no longer a "measure of responsibility"), is nothing other than the thoughtless duplication of the practices of an unregulated market.

The "anticommodity" people also tend to consider commodity relations on a nonhistorical basis, as always the same, having no specific features under different systems. For that reason they interpret public ownership and planning as a total denial of the possibility of having commodity relations, while ascribing the real shortcomings of the economic mechanism to the "artificial implantation" of such relations under our conditions. They reach a level of patent absurdity by ascribing to commodity relations and to the law of value specific phenomena, such as escalation of costs and "replacing results with outlays" in the planning economic practices we have followed since 1965 (10). In turn, the "commodity proponents," referring to Marx, explain all of this precisely in terms of the insufficient development of commodity relations, for "in a developed commodity economy" the law of value operates precisely on the side of reducing costs and improving production quality. The sterility of both "commodity" and "anticommodity" efforts to formulate a concept consistent with that of improving the economic mechanism, consistent with contemporary requirements, is noteworthy. Having spent their



entire strength on the question of "is there commodity in our country?," he opposing sides are unable to provide anything other than more or less camouflaged suggestions of returning to the traditional mechanism or reanimating competition mechanisms in their antideluvian aspect.

Unfortunately, V.M. Yakushev himself has contributed to turning this discussion into a futile dispute between commodity and anticommodity supporters, by sharing the position of the latter and groundlessly considering it a major prerequisite for the development of competition. The only suggestion made by the author related to that position (supporting the population income and expenditure balance) is essentially erroneous. The fact that the competitive system could maintain wages and bonuses within the levels of a predetermined general fund does not mean in the least that this stipulation is absolutely mandatory. In reality, the balance of income and expenditures is maintained if payments made to the population increase in the same proportion as the production of consumer goods. It is also unclear why we should turn in explaining the imbalancing of income and expenditures necessarily to the sectors within the first subdivision, for it could happen simply as a result plan nonfulfillment in any sector engaged in the production of consumer goods. Such excursions into the theory of reproduction do not support the concept of "different moneys" (6, p 73) or attempts to use this concept to reject the commodity system. Above all, this is totally unnecessary in terms of perfecting the economic mechanism. As the author himself notes, the simple acknowledgment of the economic comparability between outlays and results suffices in meeting the practical requirements in the organization of cost accounting (7, p 57).

In our view, as a whole, V.M. Yakushev's concept provides accurate guidelines. The norm-order imperative, which for a long time satisfactorily served the objectives of planned management, and which developed within the capitalist enterprise system is increasingly exhausting its possibilities. However, the elimination of the repressive attributes within it weakens its motivating impact on the producers. There is an obvious need for converting to an economic mechanism which would be consistent with socialism developing on its own foundation. In our view, the competition imperative is the key to such a mechanism.

Naturally, this does not cover the entire content of the economic mechanism, and it would be wrong to expect that the application of the new principle would bring about the immediate balanced functioning of the entire economic system. Its full development will be related, in all likelihood, to major changes in the planning, structure and content of management activities, price setting and cost accounting. The main purpose of the new principle will be to turn from "resource absorbing" to resource-saving economic management and from an escalation of outlays to upgrading the end returns of social labor. Under the new circumstances one of the very efficient instruments for social control and management could turn out to be the system of paying for resources, with the help of which it would be possible not only to equalize conditions for economic activity but also to influence its intensiveness by stimulating the production of some commodities and limiting that of others.



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## EXPERIENCE IN THE APPLICATION OF SOCIOLOGICAL RECOMMENDATIONS

### REDUCING WORKING TIME LOSSES

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[Article by Anatolii Ivanovich Volgin, candidate of economic sciences, chairman of the Moscow Oblast People's Control Committee. Author of the article "Utilization of Working Time at Moscow Oblast Enterprises" published in our journal (No 2, 1982); and Konstantin Nikolayevich Sidyakin, Head of the Science, Culture and Health Care Department, Moscow Oblast People's Control Committee. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] Statistical figures confirm that every day 48,000 members of the employed population of Moscow Oblast fail to show up for work. Substantial opportunities for the efficient utilization of working time exist even if we take into consideration that most cases of absenteeism have to do with illness (65.6 percent), leave by permission of the administration and other legitimate reasons, and that only about 6 percent are the result of truancy. It has been estimated that reducing working time losses by a single minute is the equivalent, under the conditions of Moscow Oblast, to 8 hours of work by more than 1,000 industrial workers.

Reducing time losses is one of the areas of activities of the people's control committee in the Moscow area and of 200,000 oblast scouts. This work is a structural component of control over the implementation of state plans and assignments, identifying reserves for upgrading labor productivity and applying the achievements of science, technology and progressive experience in production.

We know that today the problem of converting the national economy to intensive development and the drastic acceleration of scientific and technical progress are in the center of attention of the party and the state. The course of intensification presumes bringing proper order in production, drastically curtailing unproductive losses and making maximal use of material and social reserves. Proceeding from such tasks, the oblast people's control committee is radically reorganizing its activities. We consider strengthening ties with sociology and the use of its achievements one of the means for the further advancement of our work.

What governs this approach? Traditional investigations are, as a rule, selective. Naturally, they do not give us a complete idea of the main reasons for working time losses. Yet control is maximally effective only when it becomes a means of tracing the development of one process or another. Naturally, such tracing is the ideal model of our activities. Several years ago we tried to come closer to it. We saw the possibility for this in lengthy sociological studies, periodically repeated observations and systematic comparisons among data obtained by interviewing workers and employees and specialists working as experts. It was noteworthy that we reached this conclusion not speculatively but as a result of interpreting experience in sociological work acquired by then by the party committees and scientific research establishments and enterprises in Moscow Oblast.

In our decision to make extensive use of this experience, we were guided above all by the following considerations: First, Soviet social science has acquired substantial data from studies of labor discipline, production organization and time budgeting, which makes it possible to "target" the efforts of the people's controllers better. Second, the sociologists have developed sufficiently reliable methods to ensure the representative nature of research data covering large groups of people. Furthermore, the sociological methods applied are essentially anonymous and it is psychologically much easier for a person to reveal in a survey something which he may be unwilling to reveal in person in the course of an investigation. Third, extensive use is made in sociology of a comparison between objective data (accountability and statistical data, etc.) and subjective opinions and evaluations. This principle is basic in the activities of the people's controller. Fourth, the technology and experience in the formulation of practical recommendations can be successfully applied in the substantiation of specific suggestions based on survey results. Finally, the use of sociological methods substantially broadens the scale of the work and increases the trust of the people in the activities of people's control bodies. We hoped that this would increase the incentive of the collective in engaging in controlling activities and would stimulate their energetic struggle against shortcomings.

In 1981 the oblast committee launched a mass comprehensive investigation of the condition of labor discipline and the struggle against working time losses. The extensive use of sociological methods was planned. In the initial stage statistical data were studied, specific areas of investigation were defined and a program for surveys and methods was drafted. Scientists from Moscow State University and the Higher Trade-Union Movement School were asked to participate. A pilot study at an oblast enterprise was to provide the final answer to how precisely to organize the work, who would be in charge of verification and what type of methods would be used.

The program for the study of the problem included the following tasks: determining the main reasons for working time losses, the level of cadre turnover, the efficiency of the skill-upgrading system, the attitude of the workers toward violations of labor discipline and measures used to eliminate them, and assessing the activities of administrations and enterprise social organizations in this area. Another task was to define the link between the breakdown of opinions and the socioprofessional and demographic characteristics of the respondents, on the one hand, and labor conditions, on

the other. Several survey documents were drafted on the basis of materials provided by the USSR People's Control Committee. With the help of the enterprise economic services, the investigation groups were to study the utilization of manpower, machines and equipment and the work done by the collectives to strengthen labor discipline. Each document was not simply a questionnaire but a methodical aid for the study of the problem.

The use of the working time at the individual sections and shops presumed the study of time observation charts. This called for recording the number of people working, not working or not performing their direct assignments during the first, third and last working time hour. This study was to be done over a 1-day period. The day was selected according to the average indicators of work pace and plan implementation.

The sociological study itself was then to be conducted. The task was to determine the view of the workers on the activities of their comrades, the administration and the social organizations and the assessment of their own behavior.

Naturally, the surveys were anonymous. The workers were notified of the survey in advance and the interviews were conducted by the chairman or deputy chairman of the people's control groups. The respondents were selected on a random basis: each tenth worker listed in personnel rostrum was polled. The questionnaires were issued to those who had volunteered to participate in the survey. Naturally, there were interview refusals as well.

Such an investigation demanded tremendous organizational work. Formalism had to be avoided and it was necessary for every participant skillfully to apply methods new to himself and not simply to note errors but to analyze their reasons and think of means of eliminating shortcomings. On two occasions the oblast committee summoned the chairman of city and rayon committees and other senior workers to instruction conferences where the methods used in conducting the investigation were extensively analyzed and organizational problems discussed. Subsequently, similar seminars were held in each rayon. Finally, people's control committee personnel carefully chose those who were to conduct the survey at each enterprise and explained to them the procedure for the sociological survey and the time observations.

The new approach called for a much broader investigation than in the past. The survey covered 70 percent of the oblast's industrial enterprises and the time observations, one-third of them. A total of 7,000 people's controllers took part in the project, some 2,000 of them voluntary inspectors, specialists and scientists, people's deputies and trade union and consumer activists. Radio and enterprise newspaper announcements and a study of suggestions made by the working people ensured high publicity for the survey. A total of 30,000 people were surveyed.

To a sociologist such a representative selection may not be expedient. Obviously, an "academic" sociologist may have been able to resolve our problem with the help of a substantially fewer number of respondents. However, the mass participation of the people in such a sociological survey was in itself a target for us. We related to it the further enhancement of the activeness of



people's control groups and posts; the organization of the survey contributed to the dissemination of sociological knowledge among them and encouraged a taste for economic thinking and scientific analysis of social processes. In a word, we fully realized that we were doing something in between an investigation normally conducted by people's control organs and a sociological study. More than anything else, this was a test of the real state of affairs involving methods traditionally used in sociology. Above all, we relied on the fact that the investigation itself would have a positive influence on discipline. Anticipating, let us note that our expectation proved to be entirely justified.

What did the study indicate? Losses from absenteeism, leave by permission of the administration, absenteeism due to illness, intrashift and full-day idling and legitimate absenteeism accounted for about 8 percent of the total amount of working time. As we pointed out, this was the equivalent of more than 48,000 people not showing up for work on a daily basis.

Naturally, today "intraproduction" losses are of prime interest. What is their reason? Above all, the low level of work and management organization (see table 1). More than one-half of those surveyed listed interruptions in procurements of raw and other materials and semifinished goods; about 9 percent indicated delays in issuing assignments and orders. The second group of reasons had to do with the material and technical base of the production process, involving idling because of equipment repairs and tune-ups (56 percent), and waiting for the necessary tools (26.4 percent). The third most important was the group of factors caused by the lack of necessary order and discipline. A great deal of time is still being lost in implementing a variety of measures and attending meetings and conferences and carrying out extraneous assignments. As we may see, this applies to losses which could be reduced to a minimum essentially without additional outlays.

Quite a number of respondents indicated another reason as well: the poor organization of public catering. This problem, however, affects to a greater extent another group of factors: "nonproduction" and personal. According to the survey, 74 percent of the respondents were absent during working time in order to deal with personal problems and 71 percent considered such absenteeism legitimate (see table 2). Naturally, it would be difficult to accept such an evaluation unconditionally. Nevertheless, the study confirmed that shortcomings in the activities of public catering and consumer service enterprises, polyclinics, children's institutions and transportation take a great deal of time from the people, including working time, and sometimes simply force the people to be late or leave the enterprise ahead of time (see table 3).

These data indicate that one of the main reasons for working time losses is labor discipline violations. What are the methods used in the struggle against them and when are they most effective? The answer to this question is helped by the respondents evaluation of various influence measures (see table 4). The working people deem necessary taking more strictly to task absenteeists, drunks and other labor discipline violators. More favor primarily the use of disciplinary and material measures; the percentage of supporters of moral

Table 1 Causes of Working Time Losses, Percent of Answers\*

Reason	1981	1982	1983
Breakdowns in raw material and material supplies	63.4	54.3	55.9
Equipment repairs	31.3	29.8	28.5
Equipment tune-up idling	24.8	21.5	20.9
Lateness and leaving ahead of time	13.9	18.2	13.5
Lack of necessary tools	26.4	24.3	22.4
Delays in receiving assignments	9.9	9.3	9.4
Implementation of social assignments	8.4	9.0	8.2
Attendance of meetings and conferences	9.0	9.5	8.5
Waiting to see a manager	4.9	4.6	5.4
Doing work not stipulated in official obligations	11.8	11.6	10.2
Lack of technical documentation	4.8	5.0	4.8
Personal lack of organization	5.5	5.5	4.5
Low public catering organization	40.2	30.4	26.0
Failure to implement administration orders	3.5	3.5	3.5
Other reason	2.8	3.1	2.8

\*Respondents could mark several choices

Table 2 Reasons for Absenteeism During Work Time, Percent of Respondents\*

Absent During Work Time	1981	1982	1983
Total	74	69	67
Including:			
For reasons considered legitimate by the respondents	71	65	64
For nonlegitimate reasons	3	4	4
Going to the food store	8	9	4
Going to the durable goods store	3	4	2
Going to the cafeteria	22	20	11
Going to the savings bank	3	3	2
Going to the workshop	6	7	6
Going to the polyclinic or hospital	75	69	41
Going to the ZhKO and the passport desk	10	10	11
Going to preschool institution	11	11	7
Going to school	6	6	3
Individual lack of discipline	19	17	12
Other reasons	4	5	2

\*Respondents could mark several choices

Table 3

Reasons for Lateness and Leaving Work  
Ahead of Schedule, Percent of Respondents\*

Reason	1982	1983
Inconvenient working hours of public catering enterprises	7.0	8.3
Long lines at stores and other trade enterprises in the evening	26.0	26.6
Inconvenient public transport schedules	34.1	37.9
Personal lack of discipline	12.7	12.5
Inconvenient work of preschool institutions	3.9	4.1
Need to deal with children going to school	3.4	3.8
Other reasons	2.1	2.6
Commuting time		
Under 30 minutes	50.2	53.6
30 to 60 minutes	24.8	23.4
More than 60 minutes	8.5	9.1
No answer	16.5	13.9

\*Respondents could mark several choices

Table 4

Rating of the Efficiency of Steps to Influence  
Labor Discipline Violators, Percent of Respondents

Type of Violation	Year	Measures			No Answer
		Disciplinary	Moral	Material	
Absenteeism	1981	33.0	25.8	35.0	6.2
	1982	31.0	22.4	40.0	6.6
	1983	35.0	21.0	41.1	2.9
Showing up for work drunk	1981	24.0	25.5	42.0	8.5
	1982	22.0	24.1	43.0	10.9
	1983	24.9	23.7	45.3	6.1
Refusal to perform assignment	1981	27.0	41.7	17.0	14.3
	1982	21.0	40.2	21.0	17.8
	1983	26.0	40.2	20.6	13.2
Failure to observe administration orders	1981	32.0	35.7	18.8	13.5
	1982	27.0	32.3	22.5	18.2
	1983	26.6	33.8	23.3	16.3

influence is diminishing. Another noteworthy fact is the rather liberal attitude of some respondents to the last two violations. In our view, this is explained with the fact that not all respondents see anything reprehensible in such actions. The main reason in this case is dissatisfaction with the organization of labor (see table 1). In other words, many workers give a low rating to management style and methods practiced in many enterprises, for which reason they take a tolerant attitude toward said violations.

What practical conclusions can be drawn from the results of the study? Above all, we must take into consideration that the data we obtained covered all oblast rayons and basic industrial sectors. No single prescription for eliminating losses was possible in this case. We considered, therefore, that our task was, above all, to define the basic sources of losses and the main directions in the struggle against them and to make the efforts of party, soviet and economic bodies and public organizations more purposeful. Briefly, the results of the study provided a reliable foundation for the formulation of steps aimed at the elimination of the detected shortcomings.

The materials of the investigation were considered at a meeting of the oblast people's control committee and reported to the CPSU Council of Ministers. Based on its results, the executive committee of the Moscow Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies and the Moscow Oblast Trade-Union Council Presidium passed a joint resolution. The summed up materials of the study were sent to all investigated enterprises. Meetings of collectives were held, specific measures were formulated to control the elimination of shortcomings in enterprise activities and a review of the work of committees and groups was announced. Furthermore, the work system of the local ZhKO house managements, internal passport offices, juridical consultations, stores and consumer service enterprises was streamlined. In 1982 21 new cafeterias (including six above-plan), nine cooked-food stores and about 40 food-order departments and cafeterias were opened in the oblast; the number of stores on duty was increased and about 70 percent of all stores were converted to one and a half and two-shift work.

A second mass investigation (January 1982) indicated that working time losses had been reduced by nearly 500,000 man/days as a result of the steps which were taken and the intensified control over strengthening labor discipline. However, possibilities were by no means exhausted. For that reason, in January 1984 the oblast committee carried out another comprehensive mass investigation. This time we tried to determine the efficiency of previously implemented steps. It turned out that compared with 1981 working time losses had declined by 3.5 percent in 1983. The steps taken to improve the organization of the production process, labor discipline and the health of the working people and the activities of service enterprises had helped reduce cases of absenteeism by 13,600 man/days, by 173,400 cases of leave by permission of the administration, by 344.3 thousand absences for sick leave and by 36,000 full-day and intrashift idling; the amount of overtime dropped by 362,400 man/days. Raw and other material and tool workplace supplies improved and the amount of idling from equipment repairs and tune-ups dropped significantly (see table 1).



Naturally, unresolved problems remain and a great deal remains to be accomplished. Looking back, however, one can confidently say that the use of sociological methods enables us to gain a profound understanding of the situation, harness reserves for improving labor productivity, undertake a more extensive supervision of the economy and upgrade the responsibility of managers, workers and employees for their assignments. This is merely a single example. Based on the results of the investigation conducted by the Noginsk City People's Control Committee, in 1983 the local enterprise managements issued 180 orders and instructions; about 100 items were published in the plant newspapers, 100 "alarm signals," "flashes" and others were issued. Incidentally, here over a 2-year period, losses caused by absenteeism and full-day and intrashift idling or absences by permission of the administration dropped by 31,900 man/days (from 77,500 in 1981).

Let us reemphasize that investigative studies enhance the activeness of the working people in identifying and fighting shortcomings. This is eloquently confirmed by the fact that the oblast people's control committee received nearly 27,000 written suggestions from citizens on what should be done to eliminate omissions and errors.

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## ALCOHOLISM AS OBJECT OF PREVENTIVE INFLUENCE

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[Text] The social danger of drunkenness and its incompatibility with the principles of the socialist way of life determined the need for taking decisive and effective steps to uproot this ill. The CPSU Central Committee Decree "On Measures to Eliminate Drunkenness and Alcoholism" (1) called not simply for increasing the struggle against such negative phenomena but also for totally eliminating them from our social life. The course of struggle for sobriety proclaimed by the party is a matter of tremendous historical importance. Its success is based not only on the warm support of the working people but also on the level of economic and social maturity reached by our society. This is the first time in the history of the struggle against alcoholism that a broad and comprehensively planned set of economic, organizational, cultural-educational, legal and medical measures has been earmarked, the implementation of which will require the lengthy and intensive efforts of all state and economic bodies and party and social organizations. It was precisely this fact that M.S. Gorbachev pointed out in his speech at the meeting of the Leningrad party organization aktiv: "We have now mounted a struggle against a dangerous and quite deeply rooted social ill, such as drunkenness and alcoholism. This is a party-, nation- and state-wide task. We are realist and are well aware that the struggle here will be lengthy. Success will be achieved only if all of us plunge into this work" (2).

The extensive and interested discussion of the party document by all labor and school collectives, the active stance adopted by the mass information media, the decisive steps taken against the violators of anti-alcohol legislation, the comprehensive reduction in the number of stores and other trading establishments selling wine and hard liquor have already triggered substantial changes in the social atmosphere and in the situation with alcohol itself. Studies of the situation in Moscow, Kuybyshev, Karaganda and many other cities indicate that in the 2 months since the implementation of the decree was undertaken, sales of alcoholic beverages have declined by 20-30 percent compared with the same period in 1984; cases of absenteeism and other violations of labor discipline caused by drunkenness have been reduced significantly and criminality has declined somewhat. The main result, however, is the noticeable improvement of the atmosphere surrounding the consumption of alcoholic beverages. As indicated by the surveys we conducted in said cities, the idea of the timeliness of opposing all manifestations of drunkenness and alcoholism is becoming increasingly accepted by public opinion.

For the time being, however, there are still no reasons to claim that drunkenness is retreating. The use of preventive factors, such as drastically limiting access to alcoholic beverages, intensified social control over the behavior of alcohol abusers and changes in the social atmosphere are entirely capable of making substantial positive results without, however, being able to ensure radical changes in the situation. In order to intensify and strengthen the noticed changes, equally active efforts must be made in other areas of activity, such as culture, organization of leisure time, intercourse, and family and other relations, i.e., in areas in which the traditions of alcohol consumption take shape. Practical activities in the prevention and elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism must be based on the objective study of the sum total of circumstances which determine the dynamics of alcohol consumption and the nature of its consequences.

To this end, the CPSU Central Committee decree recommended that a nationwide comprehensive program be drafted for the prevention and elimination of drunkenness and alcoholism, encompassing the social, economic, demographic, educational, legal, psychological and medical-biological aspects of the solution of this problem.

Demands are frequently voiced today for imposing even stricter restrictions in the production and sales of alcoholic beverages. We think that, above all, it is necessary to determine the optimal correlation between accessibility and demand for alcohol. Although society has the possibility of further intensifying restrictions and prohibitions in the struggle against drunkenness, nevertheless the answer to the question of expediency of imposing a total ban on the production and sale of alcoholic beverages today is by no means simple. To begin with, even the strictest bans would not eliminate the reasons which draw some people to the use of alcohol; second, reducing the production and sale of alcoholic beverages should be accompanied by production-economic and other steps aimed at replacing with other goods wine and liquor products as items through which the population's solvent demand is realized; third, even greater efforts and, correspondingly, time would be required to strengthen the sociopsychological foundations for sobriety and, in

particular, to surmount age-old drinking traditions and customs. In other words, in order to ensure the maximal efficiency of the steps currently being taken to limit alcohol accessibility, we must establish the rates of reducing the production and marketing of wine and liquor optimal for each subsequent stage.<sup>1</sup> In this case we must proceed on the basis of special studies of the status, dynamics and prospects of demand for alcoholic beverages.

The study of other aspects of this problem, and the economic, sociopsychological and demographic features of alcohol consumption by different population groups is no less relevant. The information on the basis of which management decisions are currently made, as practical experience confirms, is most frequently the result of the study of statistical data reflecting the level and dynamics of alcohol consumption. However, in this case researchers fail to consider the more profound and finer aspects of alcoholism causality. Sociological studies are called upon to fill the gap in such information, which is so greatly necessary in the formulation of a scientific program in the struggle for sobriety. The need for such studies has long been crucial. Unfortunately, however, the program is being implemented quite unsatisfactorily, above all because of the insufficient study of general methodological problems. The information obtained by individual scientists is sometimes totally non-comparable. Naturally, this lowers its scientific value.

This situation can be easily corrected. It requires that the efforts of sociologists studying this problem be coordinated by a single center. Such a role could be assumed by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research. Furthermore, local studies could play a major role, conducted on the level of the city, rayon, labor collective, microenvironment and individual person. The systematizing of empirical data obtained in the course of such studies would enable us to draw a more or less clear picture of the alcohol situation in the country, which is necessary in organizing preventive work.

Such studies were conducted over a 5-year period in a number of cities in the country: Moscow, Kirov, Novgorod, Kalinin, Petrozavodsk, Ryazan and Chelyabinsk.<sup>2</sup> Kirov was the base project where the entire set of problems included in the program was studied. This is a typical industrial city of average size. It is an oblast center with a population of 430,000. The reason for which it was chosen is that here the situation with alcohol in 1978, i.e., on the eve of the first study, was characterized by higher indicators compared to the RSFSR as a whole (per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages, morbidity from alcoholism, the state of labor and social discipline, crime and divorce caused by drunkenness). Here indicators of the increased per capita consumption of alcoholic beverages also exceeded the republic average by 13.2 percent; absenteeism due to drunkenness was 18 percent and morbidity caused by alcoholism was half again as much. In other words, the effect of the reasons and factors of alcoholic consumption was manifested here more intensively.

The purpose of the comprehensive 5-year study program was to develop a model of alcohol consumption by the various sociodemographic population groups



(level, frequency, conditions, reasons for consumption and structure); the extent of the influence of sociopsychological factors and, above all, drinking traditions and customs, levels of culture and forms of leisure-time activities, type of employment, material prosperity and family relations on the use of alcohol; the nature of public opinion concerning alcohol consumption, steps taken in the struggle against the phenomenon and means for upgrading the efficiency of preventive work; features of the level of alcohol consumption by the various population groups, above all by workers employed in industry and by adolescents and young people and women; finally, the extent to which the organized struggle against drunkenness in labor collectives, in individual rayons and in the city influenced the situation with alcohol consumption.

Several methods were used to gather empirical data, such as latest surveys of the population,<sup>3</sup> and representatives of public opinion, directly involved in implementing anti-alcohol measures.<sup>4</sup> Three surveys were made in Kirov: in 1979, 1982 and 1984. This enabled us to trace the dynamics of the situation and the nature of changes in the view of the public regarding the struggle against drunkenness.

Particular attention was paid in the course of the surveys to the study of the social characteristics of the respondents, which included a broad spectrum of indicators: educational conditions at an early age, content and organization of labor, recreation and other aspects of activity, views and value orientations and degree of social activeness. The studies covered almost 30,000 individuals who had been taken to sobering-up stations and 7,500 supervised alcoholics. Comparisons were made between the features of two groups of people: about 2,300 alcohol abusers and a control group (individuals leading a healthy way of life).

The limitations of the article prevent us from describing in detail the full results of the work. Let us merely consider that part which is of some interest in the choice of trends, targets, and forms and methods of anti-alcohol activities.

Above all, the studies indicated that factors reflecting housing and living conditions and material well-being played an insignificant role in the set of reasons for alcohol consumption. This conclusion is based not only on the approximately identical value of said factors among alcohol abusers and members of the control group but also the circumstance that neither alcohol abusers nor their relatives or the experts<sup>5</sup> consider unsatisfactory housing conditions and insufficient material well-being among the most significant reasons for alcohol addiction.

As the following table shows, the greater the intensiveness of consumption of alcoholic beverages, the less significant human values turn out to be, such as strength of family relations, meaningful recreation, a good job and the respect of others. For example, the significance of interesting recreation and good family relations is rated in the group of frequent alcohol users lower by a factor of 2-2.5 compared to moderate users. The reason for this are the following: frequently major material difficulties arise in their families, and possession of durable goods, such as cars, motorcycles,

furniture, color television sets and tape recorders is lower by a factor of 1.5-2 compared to families in which alcohol is consumed in moderation.

Labor collectives rate drunks negatively three times more frequently than respondents in the control group (25 and 8 percent of those surveyed). Disparities in rating family relations are even more significant: two-thirds of alcohol abusers mentioned the existence of frequent family conflicts, compared to one-third of respondents in the control group. To complete the characterization of family relations among those surveyed, let us add that 73 percent of alcohol abusers were married (compared to 93 percent in the control group); 16 percent were divorced or cohabiting (compared with isolated individuals in the control group).

Nature of Value Orientations Based on Alcohol Consumption Intensiveness  
percent of entire group

Alcohol Consumption Frequency	Interesting, Meaningful Work	Good Position, Respect in Collective	Mutual Under- standing in the Family, Solidity of Marriage	Interesting Recreation and Possibility of Practicing Favorite Occu- pation During Leisure Time	Material Sufficiency, Possibility of Living as Well as Others	Good Private Apartment
Very frequently (several times weekly)	30.0	20.0	21.0	13.0	28.5	35.0
Quite frequently (no less than once weekly)	41.0	27.0	36.0	18.0	24.0	29.0
Periodically (1-3 times monthly)	45.0	32.0	49.0	24.5	21.5	31.0
Sporadically (Holidays and celebrations)	42.0	34.0	42.0	21.0	20.0	24.0
Extremely rarely or not at all	38.0	28.0	37.0	26.0	16.0	26.0

Views, customs and traditions which dictate an alcohol-oriented behavioral stereotype under certain situations play a particular role in the popularity of alcohol consumption. As the surveys indicate, in recent years the conviction that any noteworthy event in personal and social life must be celebrated with a drink has become firmly established in the minds of the various population groups. The consumption of alcoholic beverages almost has

become the rule on payday, on purchasing expensive objects, promotions, etc. In addition to holidays and having guests, 76 percent of the experts we surveyed classified among the most popular drinking habits having a drink on payday. Quite frequently drinking bouts are organized when a bonus or additional or outside income has been earned, in gratitude for a service or in nonworking days. Such a transformation of drinking habits has had an extremely adverse effect on the alcohol situation as a whole. Thus, according to the survey, only one out of 11 individuals rated himself as using alcoholic beverages extremely rarely or not at all; one out of four used alcohol rarely or very little. Meanwhile, 11 percent of the adult population (20.6 percent among the men) consume alcohol several times weekly and 19 percent (31 percent among men) no less than once weekly.

Under the influence of the extensive popularity of drinking customs, gradually an atmosphere of placidity and tolerance has surrounded alcohol libations. All of this has led to the fact that in many families increased material sufficiency frequently turned into a further increase in money spent on alcoholic beverages. That is why one of the main areas in the prevention of drunkenness is efforts to change alcohol prejudices and delusions which have become instilled in the minds of a considerable share of the population and debunk harmful drinking customs and traditions. In this connection, the active propaganda of means of satisfying the needs of the people for intercourse, developing a good mood and ways of relieving mental stress and physical fatigue without the use of alcohol and instilling in the minds of young people the prestige of adopting socially useful means of self-assertion and manifestations of strength, courage and maturity assumes particular importance.

Success in the prevention and elimination of drunkenness greatly depends on the way such work will be conducted on a differentiated basis, taking into consideration the features of the different sociodemographic population groups. Our studies have established a rather close correlation between the nature of employment, sex, age and education and the extent of use of alcohol.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the study of statistical data concerning individuals in a state of severe intoxication in public places and taken to sobering-up stations and individuals kept under supervision in Kirov indicated that in both groups workers accounted, respectively, for 77 and 79 percent; ITR and employees, for 7 and 12 percent; pensioners and disabled, for 9 and 8 percent; higher and secondary school students, for 2 and 0.1 percent; individuals temporarily unemployed, without specific domicile, and others, for 5 and 0.9 percent. Therefore, the bulk of alcohol abusers among the urban population are individuals directly employed in material production. The alcohol abuse intensiveness indicator in this group is 50 percent higher than average. An approximately similar situation was found in other cities, such as Novgorod, Ryazan and Dzerzhinsk.

The results of a study of adolescents and young people, conducted by the author within a 15-year span are equally a matter of great concern. They indicate that in recent years the number of minors using alcohol has increased significantly. Whereas in 1965 50 percent of the girls and 70 percent of the boys in the senior grade occasionally consumed alcoholic beverages, at the

beginning of the 1980s 70 percent of the girls and 95 percent of the boys took an occasional drink.

The gravity of the problem determines the great interest shown by the local party, soviet and economic bodies in the results of studies and the efficient implementation of sociological recommendations. The information gathered by the sociologists ascribes anti-alcohol activities a differentiated and substantiated nature and helps to make them most efficient. Experience based on 6-year of cooperation between party and soviet bodies in Kirov and scientists in organizing in the city an efficient struggle for sobriety is a confirmation of this fact. According to the contract concluded for creative cooperation among the party gorkom, the city soviet and the USSR MVD Academy, a number of efficient studies were conducted in Kirov between 1979 and 1984. The most important conclusions and results were discussed by the city public and, following their ratification by the CPSU city party committee buro, the sociologists' recommendations were submitted to the respective organizations for implementation.

In the very first stage of the studies (1979-1980) we became aware of the conflicting nature of approaches and the vagueness of concepts relative to organizing the struggle against drunkenness by those directly in charge of preventive work either by virtue of official duties or assumed social obligations. The results of the surveys indicated that three-quarters of the respondents relied for success in anti-alcohol activities mainly on the law-enforcement bodies and on prohibitions, totally ignoring educational work, improving the organization of leisure time, etc. Briefly, we had to begin with a radical elimination of stereotypes, psychological inclinations and established views on the means and methods for the elimination of drunkenness.

A certain discrepancy in public opinion was revealed as well: on the one hand, as a negative social phenomenon, drunkenness was sharply condemned; on the other, intolerance of drunkenness noticeably declined in the case of specific alcohol abusers. In addition to the widespread drinking customs and traditions, also noteworthy in terms of the sociopsychological atmosphere surrounding alcohol consumption was the fact that no more than one-half (54 percent) of the surveyed population in the city considered it inadmissible to show up intoxicated in a public place. Twenty percent of the men considered that such behavior was entirely admissible unless it entailed violations of public order, conflicts and scandals.

Active use was made of a great variety of means and methods of educational influence with a view to developing a different sociopsychological atmosphere in the city: annual unified policy days dedicated to anti-alcohol topics and the creation of 20 permanent lecturing offices; hundreds of medical workers, teachers, jurists and law enforcement personnel were recruited to explain the consequences of drunkenness. The possibilities of motion pictures and the television were extensively used for such purposes.

A program for the anti-alcohol consumption upbringing of young people was drafted on the basis of the data obtained in the course of the surveys of heads of general education schools and teachers, fifth to tenth-grade students and their parents. Accordingly, a 2-year experiment was conducted in the



city's general education schools, aimed at the more efficient use of the training and education process in showing the fatal consequences of the use of alcohol and at eradicating delusions concerning alcohol in secondary school students. The education of parents was also organized with a view to developing within the families the type of moral and psychological atmosphere which would create in children and adolescents a negative attitude toward alcohol consumption. The penalties stipulated by the law were applied more consistently in the case of parents who were alcohol abusers; the organization of the leisure time of adolescents was improved.

This experiment, which had yielded tangible results, was subsequently extended to all general education schools in the city.

In the course of our studies we paid particular attention to clarifying the role of labor collectives in the prevention of drunkenness. The following fact proves the poor use they make of their great possibilities in this area: the percentage of workers violating labor and social discipline as a result of alcohol abuse ranged in the different enterprises between 5 and 25 percent of the total number of workers. A thorough study of the reasons for the dissemination of drunkenness among workers, a comparison among enterprises with extreme indicators in alcohol consumption and the study of the positive experience at two plants became the foundations for methodical recommendations drafted by the researchers, and approved by the party gorkom, for the organization of the struggle against drunkenness at industrial enterprises in the city. The data obtained from the enterprises and the results of the third (1983-1984) survey stage confirmed that planned and coordinated efforts by party, soviet, economic and law-enforcement bodies helped to halt the growth of alcohol consumption and, subsequently, to ensure its noticeable drop (by 15 percent). However, an even more important result of all such efforts were the changes which occurred in public opinion and in the atmosphere surrounding the consumption of alcohol and the very nature of the struggle against drunkenness. This struggle became better organized and purposeful. Although a great deal remains to be done, the results of several years of experience in anti-alcohol work in Kirov and its positive outcome prove the great opportunities of a scientific management of drunkenness prevention and its total elimination from our social life.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Although acknowledging the unrealistic nature of the immediate promulgation of a "dry law," i.e., a total ban on the production, sales and consumption of alcoholic beverages, nevertheless some authors try to invest in this concept a somewhat different meaning. For example, L.M. Ovrutskiy believes that passing such a law, without excluding the consumption of alcohol among a certain percentage of the population, would provide a reliable moral-legal foundation for an active anti-alcohol struggle, the end objective would be universal sobriety. He then draws a parallel between it and the laws passed against parasitism, theft and hooliganism. This analogy, however, ignores the scale of the compared phenomena, i.e., the fact that a "dry law" would inevitably create a situation in which the majority of the country's adult population will be violating the law (3).

2. The research group, headed by this author, included the following associates of the USSR MVD academy: A.R. Blagorazumnyy, A.V. Borisov, A.V. Butuzov, V.A. Konstantinovskiy, A.A. Kubasov, N.P. Megleyev, A.K. Mustavin, V.A. Sankin, S.B. Stakheyev and others.
3. The respondents included every 80th adult whose name was found in the voting lists. The sociodemographic characteristics obtained on the basis of essential indicators (sex, age, education, social status) proved to be quite similar to the parameters of the overall population characteristics, for which reason it can be considered representative. A total of 26,000 people were surveyed. The survey included more than 50 questions.
4. About 3,000 members of party soviet, law enforcement and economic bodies, labor collectives and public organizations were surveyed.
5. The experts were individuals whose official duties or social obligations entailed their direct participation in work with drunks and alcoholics.
6. The results of these studies are partially analyzed in the article "On Some Features of Drunkenness Prevention" (4).
7. The intensiveness of alcohol abuse was computed as the correlation between the percentage of this group among alcohol abusers and its percentage of the total adult population.

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## APPLIED RESEARCH

### RESERVES FOR UPGRADING THE EFFICIENCY OF CITY AND RAYON NEWSPAPERS

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 55-59

[Article by docents at Tartu State University. Peter Arnoldovich Vikhalemm is candidate of psychological sciences. Maryu Yokhannesovna Lauristin is candidate of philological sciences. They are co-authors of the monograph "Teoriya Massovoy Kommunikatsii" [Theory of Mass Communications] (1977). This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] The rayon and city press plays a special role in the system of mass information media. They account for 18 percent of the Armenian, 22 percent of the Azeri and more than 46 percent of the Moldavian press editions. Local newspapers play a great role in the Baltic area as well. In 1982 the urban and rayon press in the Estonian SSR accounted for 43 percent of the newspapers published in the republic, averaging 1.3 issues per family, or nearly triple the number compared with the Belorussian, Uzbek, Kirgiz or Armenian SSRs (1, 2). It is clear that the means of enhancing the effectiveness of the newspapers depend, among others, on the extent of their distribution; after interest in the newspaper has been secured, the quality of the individual publications offered to the readership becomes even more important. Achieving a 100 percent coverage of the population faces the mass information media with the problem of converting from extensive to intensive dissemination of mass information, i.e., from expanding the readership to the more profound and fuller meeting of information needs of various population categories.

The first comprehensive study of total activities of rayon newspapers within the "publisher-editors-information content-readers' opinion" system was made by MGU sociologists in Ryazan Oblast in 1969-1971 (3). In 1979 Tartu State University sociologists undertook the study of the entire system of the local press in the Estonian SSR on the basis of several years of study of the effectiveness of EDAZI, the Tartu city and rayon newspaper. The study was conducted from 1979 to 1984 and covered all city and rayon newspapers other than the capital's evening edition, which is a specific type of publication. In the course of the study a representative population survey for the republic (excluding Tallin) was conducted, including the editors of local newspapers (141 people) and the content of the materials published in the course of the year by all 16 local newspapers. The main task of the sociologists was to determine possibilities of upgrading the efficiency of the local press.

The method was based on a principle developed together with Yu.V. Vooglayd in the course of the initial study of the newspaper EDAZI between 1966 and 1970, in the course of which the readership was empirically classified into groups based on similar expectations and preferences concerning the newspaper. In his time Vooglayd proved that the professional-status characteristics play a decisive role in the shaping of the readers' interests and largely determine the type of information needed by the individual in making socially or personally significant decisions. The results of this study, in the course of which the reasons for reading the local press were compared, confirmed the essential role of professional-status readership characteristics. Subsequently, we refined and expanded this initial concept: not only the features of involvement in social life through labor but also the entire way of life of a person determine the trend of his information activities, including the reading and use of newspaper materials. On the other hand, the role of a single information channel cannot be understood, not to mention its efficiency exaggerated, without considering the combination with other sources of information and the circumstances in which this channel is used.

The task which was set in the taxonomical processing of the results of the survey was to take into consideration the entire variety of communication and noncommunication characteristics of the readers and, on this basis, classify the readership into types with features apparent to the editorial personnel. The classification of the readers was based on their communicative characteristics relative to reading the local newspaper and more general features of information activeness and selectiveness (it was precisely these two parameters which we took as basic type-forming factors).

The typological analysis was conducted twice (992 and 1,280 respondents were surveyed according to the random selection method, their names taken from voters' lists). The selections proved similar to those based on communicative (type-forming) as well as social and demographic (type-descriptive) characteristics. The 1981 survey covered readers of both rayon and city newspapers. Seven distinct groups of readers were obtained as a result of the automatic classification of respondents on the basis of the similarity of combinations of 34 features. The following were singled out on the basis of the activeness parameter: most active consumers of local information, 34 percent (types I, II, and III); moderate, 33 percent (types IV and V); and passive, 33 percent (types VI and VII). By selectiveness; most critical readers in terms of choice of materials, 27 percent (types I and VI); moderate, 45 percent (types II, IV and V) and unselective, accepting any information uncritically, 28 percent (types III and VII). The table which follows offers a more detailed breakdown of all readers' types.

Newspaper effectiveness in terms of each one of these groups was obtained through a variety of methods. Today we can confidently say that the most effective (in other words, the greatest satisfaction with the newspaper and thoroughness of its reading) is found in readers of the II, III and V types, who account for nearly one-half of the readership. A lesser effectiveness is that of the I, IV and VI types (approximately 40 percent of the readership). Those belonging to the VII type are mainly old people who are no longer engaged in active work and have no demands whatsoever concerning the newspaper. Therefore, the "positive balance" of the effectiveness of the



# Types of Local Newspaper Readers in the Estonian SSR\*

Indicator	Type							Total by Reader- ship, %
	I Act. Sel.	II Act.	III Unsel.	IV Mod.	V sel.	VI Passive Crit.	VII Unchr.	
Readership type, %	7	12	15	12	21	20	13	
Attitude toward local press:								
Regularity	o	+	++	o	o	-	--	51
Thoroughness	+	+	++	-	o	--	--	50
Criticalness	++	o	-	o	o	+-	--	22
Subjects of interest:								
Economics	+++	+++	++	-	o	---	---	33
Trade, services	++	+++	+++	-	o	---	---	44
Family	+++	+++	+++	o	o	--	---	54
Education	++	+++	+++	o	o	--	---	30
Politics, social life	++	+++	+++	--	o	--	--	17
Culture	++	++	+++	-	-	--	---	32
Nature	++	++	+++	o	o	--	--	58
Morality, way of life	++	+++	+++	o	o	--	---	58
Sports	+++	+++	+	-	-	-	---	33
Satisfaction with topics	o	+	+++	o	o	-	--	29
Basic reasons for reading local newspaper:								
Information	++	++	++	++	++	+	o	
Socioadministrative	o	+	+	o	o	o	-	
Sociocommunicative	+	o	+	+	+	o	+	
Practical utilitarian	o	-	o	o	o	-	o	
Recreational	-	o	-	-	+	++	++	
General information activeness:								
Interest in radio and television programs	++	+	o	o	-	+	---	51
Number of steadily read newspapers and journals	11	8	9	8	6	7	3	7
Fiction	+++	o	++	o	-	o	---	32
Use of Union and foreign channels	+++	o	o	o	-	++	---	27
Active intercourse	++	+	+	o	o	o	--	10
Reading specialized publications	++	o	+	o	-	o	--	18
Sociodemographic features:**								
Sex (% of men)	45	55	42	45	45	46	35	45
Age (under 50)	81	70	62	75	57	64	13	59
Education (secondary and higher)	78	55	58	64	43	59	8	50
Socioprofessional status	51	21	25	27	18	17	0	20
Social activeness	57	43	34	31	26	25	5	29

\*1981 data; \*\* In % for total group

Note: +++ and --- are deviations from the median in the value of the given feature for the entire readership, in excess of 30 percent (over or under); ++ and -- indicate a 20-29 percent deviation; + and - indicate a 10-19 percent deviation; o indicates consistency with the average for the entire readership.

newspaper as a whole comes essentially from the active but unselective young people (types II and III) or the elderly and moderately active readers, who make relatively small use of other mass information channels (type V).

From the effectiveness viewpoint, the most "access-difficult" were readers of the I type: people with highly developed interests, making active use of information provided by other channels, and who expressed the largest number of critical remarks concerning the local press. The criticism voiced by this group was caused mainly by the lack of problems and insufficiently critical approach of published materials. This type readers (no more than 7 percent) are most active in intercourse, and significantly younger and better educated than the readership as a whole. One-half of this group consist of specialists (although only 35 percent of the entire number of specialists belong to this type of readers, which indicates yet once again that in addition to the traditional analysis we must also make a typological analysis, which takes into consideration sociodemographic and professional-status characteristics). Most typical of the demands of this category was that of increasing the problem and critical nature of newspaper materials, "uprooting from propaganda practices the use of rhetoric, cliches or attempts to avoid crucial problems affecting the working people" (1).

Whereas in the case of the critical readers of the I type the main dissatisfaction with editorial work is related to the insufficiently profound and sharp approach to economic and social problems, the dissatisfaction of IV-type readers is caused rather by the nature of the coverage of local activities and choice of topics. This part of the readership is also relatively young (75 percent are under 50) and educated (two-thirds have secondary or higher training), with developed spiritual demands and a broad range of intercourse but less active socially than the readers of the first three types. This group of readers, like those of the first type, are active in material and cultural consumption, have a broad choice of sources of information, are relatively uninvolved in the daily life of the rayon and are not particularly interested in its production and social life. In all likelihood, it consists of recent arrivals who have still not settled, more than of other types. To them the rayon newspaper, so far, is a way of becoming part of local life; compared with republic publications it plays a secondary role as a source of general political and cultural information, for which reason the readers' interest in it is quite superficial. The enhanced efficiency of the local newspaper concerning this type of readership must be based on involving them in local problems and social life and encouraging their social adaptation. It is precisely these readers who expect more than others for the newspaper to pay attention to their daily concerns. Positive social views develop in this group as a result of sharp newspaper articles on topics of morality, family and daily life, social and cultural development, and improvements in living conditions in the town and the rayon. It is precisely the readers of the IV and "average" V types that react most tangibly to problems of daily life and improvements in living conditions.

Those least satisfied with the local newspaper belong the the VI type; 32 percent of the members of this group are under 30, people with a relatively high level of education; three-fifths of them have secondary or higher training. As we may see, in terms of sociodemographic structure, this type is

very similar to the active readership groups. In terms of interests and expectations, however, it is their direct opposite. This group considers that the purpose of the local newspaper is to fill in their leisure time and "to be read for lack of something better to do." This attitude is consistent with the extremely sporadic and superficial familiarity with the topics covered by the newspaper, coinciding on the surface with the behavior of readers belonging to the older age group (type VII). Naturally, the local newspaper by itself cannot change the orientation of those who "read for lack of something better to do." However, it must actively participate in promoting a change.

As far as the readers of the last, VII type are concerned, they are, as we pointed out, elderly, to whom the newspaper is an interlocutor in problems of life and, sometimes, the only window to the surrounding world. Despite the undemanding nature of such readers and the lack of requirements or clearly expressed needs, local newspaper editors must take their interests into consideration, less in order to enhance the effectiveness of its influence than for the sake of observing the principles of social justice in their information policy.

It is noteworthy that the socially active readers display a greater variety of interests and are more satisfied with the newspaper compared with the passive. For that reason we suggest that the problem of satisfying the requirements of the readership be approached not as an aim within itself but for the sake of doing everything possible to involve the readers in resolving the daily problems of the city and rayon. In itself, this task implies a different breakdown of the attention which the newspaper pays to the various areas of social life, i.e., changes in the topic structure and making the content of the newspaper closer to the immediate interests of the local population in production and daily and social life.

For example, a study of topics covered on an annual basis by the local press in the Estonian SSR between 1979 and 1982 indicated that the attention they paid to production problems, on the one hand, and to trade, services and urbanization, on the other, was extremely disparate. The space allocated by the newspaper to the latter was one-fifth (!) that of the former. A similar trend has been noted not only in Estonian newspapers. To this day, the requirements of the readership of the local press--paying greater attention to daily concerns, services and the communal economy--are frequently considered by editors and publishers as a "lagging" of the readers behind some kind of ideal type of newspaper.

Although the typological analysis of the readers' attitude toward rayon and city newspapers we conducted indicates that such a "lag" in the awareness indeed exists, the local newspapers are oriented above all toward the more successful "average" readership categories. This situation does not satisfy the most active part of the readers, interested in the solution of crucial social and economic problems, as well as the more passive readers with a consumerist orientation, who are as yet to become involved in active social life.

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## REPRODUCTIVE BEHAVIOR UNDER HIGH SOCIAL ACTIVITY CONDITIONS

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(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 59-65

[Article by Parsla Arturovna Eglite, candidate of economic sciences, head of the Labor Resource Sector, Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. This is her first article in our journal]

[Text] A drop in the birth rate occurred in the European part of the country in the 1960s-1970s, to a level which could not ensure the future quantitative reproduction of the population. This circumstance demanded of Soviet demographers and sociologists to pay closer attention to the study of the problems of the contemporary family. As a result of studying a common topic, the two scientific disciplines became significantly closer to each other. This closeness involved reciprocal borrowing of methods, joint development of a conceptual apparatus, exchange of data and holding joint conferences and organizing joint publications. Nevertheless, so far no uniform view has developed on the decisive factors limiting the number of children per family and expected changes in this development and, consequently, methods for influencing the stability of family-marital relations. In our view, the fault lies in the gap between theoretical and empirical studies and the exceptional concentration of the attention of scientists on increasing data on intrafamily processes without paying proper attention to the influence which circumstances determined by the development of society has on the family.

Some authors, who refer to the correlation among a number of statistical indicators, have concluded that urbanization and the emancipation of women and their work in the public economy disturb the normal functioning of the family. Corresponding suggestions have been formulated aimed at a selective and voluntary restriction of extrafamily women's employment. The aim is to increase the number of births, while the influence which the professional activities of the mother has on the development of her personality, which is a very essential feature from the viewpoint of the quality of education, is ignored. Yet this factor must be profoundly and comprehensively studied, for the results of such studies could substantially influence the assessment of suggested steps.

In turn, the suggestion of extending partial paid leave to mothers until the child is 2 or even 3-years old (in a three-children family this means that the

woman would have to stay home for 7 to 9 years), are obviously based on the premise that the structure of the women's needs will remain unchanged regardless of social changes, although this is by no means the case. On the other hand, the supporters of the hypothesis of the declining "need for children" proceed from the fact that the extrafamily orientation of contemporary women restricts the family orientation. They assume that the totality of needs in this case remains unchanged. Had this been true, no demographic policy whatsoever would have been necessary.

Consequently, the confirmation (or refutation) of the hypothesis that the structure of needs develops with the increased level of education and of the influence of this factor on the number of children in a family is of major sociopractical significance. An attempt to test this hypothesis was made by the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

The purpose of our study of the factors determining demographic behavior (1978-1979) was to determine the importance of the family and children among the other life values, and the differentiation within this orientation, based on the type of generation and according to the educational level of the respondents. The survey included 43 questions, including the composition of the family, the reasons for setting up a family, satisfaction with family life, housing conditions, material situation, and others. We were also interested in concepts relative to the professional activity of mothers of small children, employment of respondents in public production, satisfaction with the work and some characteristics of parental families. Furthermore, we decided to ignore the question usually asked in such cases of income per family member, for this is a virtually integral indicator which must include parental assistance, produce grown in garden plots, etc., which are difficult to calculate. We also excluded questions of profession, for in the course of a lifetime a person can change professions repeatedly; also excluded was the question of relations within the parental family, about which the child is not always suitably informed. We used exclusively direct questions which, in our view, make result interpretation more objective. The accuracy of the expressed views was tested by comparing them with answers to related problems, such as motivations for limiting the number of children, objective housing conditions, value orientations and professional activities of mothers.

We selected for our research urban residents employed in public production. It is precisely this contingent that predominates in the Latvian population. Unlike the choice of the combinations of a number of similar features, this methodical solution enabled us to determine the features of demographic behavior and the living conditions of the different sociodemographic groups which influence it. Furthermore, by relying exclusively on features used in statistical studies, by singling out the latter, we are able to determine the extent to which one phenomenon or another is widespread today or will be in the future and to compare it with data developed by other researchers. The optimal selection volume, therefore, was determined in such a way that each group numbered no less than 25 people, based on the combination of three features (sex, age, family status). All in all, we surveyed 4,137 people, approximately one-half of them in Riga and the other in two small cities in the republic. The overall selection was proportional to the sectorial structure of employment typical of Latvian cities. The breakdown of the

respondents based on age and level of education (separately for men and women) was similar to the data of the 1979 all-union census.

A comparative study of groups sharing between two and four characteristics, above all in terms of sex and place of residence, was made in order to determine the basic behavior-differentiating factors. In most cases the additional features included age, level of education, family status or number of children.

The question of value orientations was quite essential in terms of the purpose of the study (and, to the best of our knowledge, had remained relatively unstudied in connection with the population's reproduction). The respondents were asked to list in order five values they considered most significant, which depended, to a certain extent, on socioeconomic conditions (table 1). The frequency of the choice of individual values in the groups by age for men and women is a reflection not of a gradual change in orientation from one generation to another but a temporary enhancement of the significance of the family during the period of most intensive birthrate, between the ages of 25 and 29. We should remember that the educational standard of members of the younger generations is on an average higher than that of their seniors. Consequently, the value of the family in the course of generational changes does not decline with increased education. This is confirmed by the frequency of choices and the average rating of individual values by the groups, based on educational standard (for the method used in computing the analytical indicators see (1)).

It is noteworthy that in both men and women the levels of the five dominating values coincide entirely. As a whole (for the entire suggested list) differences here are lesser than among respondents of the same sex but with different educational levels and, even more so, age (the Spearman correlation coefficients were, respectively, 0.964; 0.909 for men and 0.941 for women with incomplete secondary and higher training).

Judging by the answers, individuals with higher education would like to have a greater number of children under favorable conditions, compared to those with secondary and incomplete secondary training (table 2). The members of said group (both men and women) expressed most frequently the wish to have two or three children which, in our view, is proof of greater thoughtfulness in answering and awareness of wishes. Such intentions, however, require specific circumstances for their implementation and even the absence of a single one of them would make such implementation impossible. Compared with the other categories of respondents, women with higher training noted that further expansion of the family would hinder professional work nine times more frequently and referred twice as frequently to the excessive load of household chores. In other words, the difficulty of combining different social functions and the insufficient development of the infrastructure dominate among the reasons for having fewer children. It is precisely these reasons rather than the predominance of extrafamily over family values that determine the relatively great disparity between the desired and the actual number of children in women with higher educational standards.

Table 1 Average Rating of Life Values by Men and Women of Different Generation, points

Life value	Men	Age					50 or older
		16-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	
Family happiness, children	.69	.54	.60	.71	.69	.71	.75
Material sufficiency	.68	.67	.73	.69	.68	.68	.65
Interesting and creative work	.36	.24	.30	.34	.36	.40	.39
Success in the work	.26	.09	.22	.23	.26	.28	.32
Travel, tourism	.26	.30	.26	.24	.29	.24	.23
Awareness of new developments	.19	.14	.14	.17	.19	.20	.24
Pleasant company	.19	.34	.24	.21	.18	.16	.16
Enjoyment of the arts	.17	.26	.20	.14	.17	.14	.17
Eventful life	.13	.22	.17	.16	.10	.12	.10
Physical development	.12	.25	.17	.13	.10	.09	.07
Social activities	.03	.01	.02	.02	.03	.05	.04
Other values	.02	.00	.01	.01	.02	.02	.02
Being superior to other	.01	.00	.01	.01	.01	.01	.01

Life value	Women	Age					50 or older
		16-19	20-24	25-29	30-39	40-49	
Family happiness, children	.75	.62	.66	.83	.78	.77	.69
Material sufficiency	.66	.70	.70	.67	.63	.65	.65
Interesting and creative work	.37	.27	.37	.39	.39	.38	.36
Success in the work	.24	.16	.19	.20	.25	.30	.27
Travel, tourism	.27	.28	.28	.25	.27	.25	.27
Awareness of new developments	.11	.06	.11	.11	.09	.11	.15
Pleasant company	.20	.33	.27	.21	.17	.17	.21
Enjoyment of the arts	.25	.27	.23	.21	.24	.26	.29
Eventful life	.11	.24	.15	.10	.11	.09	.09
Physical development	.06	.09	.05	.04	.06	.05	.07
Social activities	.03	.02	.01	.03	.03	.04	.04
Other values	.02	.01	.01	.01	.02	.03	.02
Being superior to other	.01	.02	.02	.01	.01	.01	.01



Table 2. Breakdown of Answers to the Question of the Desired Number of Children Based on Educational Standard, %

		Would Like To Have:						
	No Children	1	2	3	4	5 or more	Uncertain	N
Men	2.1	5.2	38.2	30.2	5.0	4.8	14.5	1588
Educational Standard:								
Incomplete Secondary	3.4	6.4	37.7	27.2	4.7	5.1	15.5	624
Secondary	1.8	4.8	39.8	29.8	4.4	4.9	14.5	628
Higher	0.3	3.6	36.0	36.3	6.8	4.2	12.8	336
Women	2.0	6.6	45.6	25.7	3.8	3.4	12.9	2550
Educational Standard:								
Incomplete Secondary	4.7	8.9	38.3	23.6	4.1	5.0	15.4	700
Secondary	1.2	6.5	49.6	24.7	3.5	2.7	11.8	1366
Higher	0.4	3.7	44.9	31.6	4.1	2.9	12.4	484

As to the preferred forms of employment of mothers after the child has reached the age of 1, many women with higher training (40 percent) have expressed themselves in favor of a partial work day after a short interruption in their professional activities. This enables them to maintain their skills and ties with the labor collective and, at the same time, to allocate sufficient time to raising their children. What is noteworthy is that the opinion of the men on this matter is more conservative. Thus, 50 to 100 percent more men (regardless of education group), compared with women, believe that the mother of a small child should quit her job entirely and "stay home" until their son or daughter has reached school age. The disparity of viewpoints in this case is believed to be the consequence of the differences in the interest shown by men and women in preserving the traditional casting of family roles under the conditions of a changed social situation and, in particular, the drastically enhanced educational standards of women and their active participation in all areas of social life under the Soviet system.

The noted differences between the relatively conservative ideas of the men and the expectation of the women, who are more attuned to change in the performance of family roles, have been reflected in assessments of family life as well. The indicator of satisfaction with family life was broken down as follows: 72 percent for men and 49 percent for women with grammar education; respectively, 68 and 48 percent for men and women with incomplete secondary education; 70 and 53 percent for those with complete secondary education; and 73 and 60 percent with higher and unfinished higher education. The relatively greater satisfaction shown by women with higher education is explained, in our view, by the fact that they are more demanding in selecting a partner and intolerant of an unsuccessful marriage. On the one hand, put together, this explains the lower percentage of marriages among this category of women; on the other, it determines the predominance of marriages in their circle, in which obligations are equally divided and better possibilities exist for both spouses to engage in a variety of activities. It is no accident that women with higher training complain less compared to members of other groups of difficulties related to intrafamily relations (table 3). A similar trend is characteristic also of the related group of men. As the educational level

risers we note a partial convergence of the structures of difficulties of daily life experienced by men and women: the rating of the respective frequency indicators among respondents with higher education, belonging to both sexes, shows greater similarity compared to the ratings given by members of the different sexes with a lower educational standard.

Table 3. Breakdown of Answers to the Question of Daily Life Difficulties, %

Daily life difficulties	Men, Education				Women, Education			
	Grammar	Incomplete Secondary	Secondary	Higher	Grammar	Incomplete Secondary	Secondary	Higher
Insufficient money	18.0	19.2	17.6	19.9	18.2	18.4	21.1	19.2
Insufficient cultural institutions	11.5	13.1	17.6	16.7	10.6	13.2	16.1	20.5
No childcare aid	8.6	9.9	7.8	8.5	12.1	9.9	15.4	15.5
Lack of suitable social circle	2.2	3.8	4.9	3.2	8.3	5.3	5.5	6.6
Disagreements with parents	2.2	3.8	6.2	10.6	1.5	2.6	6.6	5.7
Difficulties in raising the children	8.6	9.6	8.9	7.8	15.2	9.5	11.0	11.0
Differences of opinions with wife (husband) on use of leisure time	5.0	7.7	9.6	9.2	12.1	12.5	14.2	12.6
Insufficient participation of the husband (wife) in household chores	6.5	1.3	1.6	2.5	18.9	15.8	18.3	14.5
Frequent drinking by the husband (the wife)	2.2	1.6	1.6	1.4	17.4	15.8	11.0	6.6
Disagreements on spending money	7.2	5.4	6.0	2.1	9.1	11.2	7.6	3.2

Therefore, the study of such empirical data confirmed the assumption of the substantial influence which the educational standard has on reproductive concepts and intrafamily relations. This influence, however, is not reduced in the least to a direct limitation in the number of children because of neglected family orientation due to extrafamily interest among the better educated segment of the population, for in the course of increased requirements (which, as a rule, accompanies the growth of education) some requirements are not replaced by others but the importance of spiritual needs increases, which does not contradict in the least an orientation toward family

and children. The limited possibilities of compressing the time and combining within it all desired types of activities lead to a forced choice of needs or their partial satisfaction. One of the manifestations of this is having fewer children which, so far, has been particularly typical of the better educated population groups.

However, we should not forget that the increased level of education in men and women is not the whim of individuals or the result of the satisfaction of their personal needs. This process is a reflection of a historical law: the steady enhancement of the level of manpower skills as a prerequisite for production intensification and for improving the population's well-being. Consequently, the features of demographic behavior and family relations we discussed are nothing other than the appearance of a social type of individual, characteristic of the contemporary stage in social development. This circumstance must be considered primary in formulating the optimal model of the contemporary Soviet family and in the formulation of measures for enhancing the birthrate and preserving family stability. Such steps should be oriented toward the needs and ideals of the population with no less than secondary training, i.e., the most widespread social type in our society, with comprehensive interests and an aspiration for social activeness.

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## EXPERIENCE IN MOSCOW SOCIAL CARTOGRAPHY

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85 (signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 75-83

[Article by Natalya Borisovna Barbash, candidate of geographic sciences, junior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Geography, specialist in problems of urban environment. This is her first article in our journal; Vladimir Yefimovich Gimpelson, junior scientific associate, Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of the Moscow National Economy, specializing in social planning. This is his first article in our journal; and Yan Aleksandrovich Davidovich, candidate of historical sciences and senior scientific associate in the same institute. Coauthor of several articles published in our journal on the social problems of development of Moscow (No 3, 1980; No 4, 1981; No 4, 1983; and No 2, 1984)]

[Text] Socioterritorial differences have a major differentiating impact on the way of life of Soviet people. Due to the uneven distribution of conditions for activities, the cost of obtaining the same set of benefits will differ even among socially homogeneous population groups. Suffice it to mention that merely the increased length of commuting to work from 30 minutes to 3 hours reduces the amount of time spent in raising children by a factor of 8 and for studies and self-education by a factor of 2-3 (1). The effect of said factor increases with the size of the city (or area), which correspondingly increases differences among city areas in terms of access to transport, level of development of the social infrastructure, etc. The precise assessment of such difficulties under the conditions of Moscow life requires a special selection based on not simply typical but "polarized" and "contrasting" areas in terms of living conditions.

Sociologists have acquired some experience in planning territorial selections. Suffice it to recall the typology developed for large-scale all-union studies (such as Pravda-77) (2). However, as a rule, such studies did not require the representativeness of data for the first or the intermediary selection stages. We can say, therefore, that the "Moscow" part of the "Pravda" selection is not representative in terms of the entire city of Moscow. It would be difficult to use in resolving this problem the model which was developed in the course of the studies conducted in Tallin and Kazan (3). To begin with, in terms of population size, said cities cannot be compared with Moscow; secondly, in this case the main problem was to select respondents living under typical conditions.



Our task was essentially different. It required the formulation of a new and rather complex method for structuring our selection. The procedure included the following stages: 1. Choice of criteria on the basis of which to divide the territory, significant in terms of the city's economic and social development; 2. Division of the entire urban area into primary basic territorial cells on their basis; 3. Grading the latter and structuring a microzone continuum, ranging from the most to the least favorable residential areas; 4. Selection of socially homogeneous groups of respondents within the cells at the extremes of this continuum.

The following indicators were adopted as a basis for the classification: a. Internal cell homogeneity; b. Existence within each cell of a local transportation center--the starting and ending points of daily population commuting. The microareas thus obtained were small. The realm of population activities is not limited to such territories. For that reason, it would be expedient to combine cells similar in terms of saturation of the social infrastructure, adjacent to each other. In order to single out areas of homogeneous cells, the latter must be classified. The number of such zones is determined by two parameters. The first is an arbitrary interval. For example, if area "A" includes cells rated from one to 500, while area "B", from 500 to 1,000, etc., we would have a much fewer number of zones than in the case of intervals ranging between one and 200. The second parameter is the territorial proximity of cells. Areas with similar living conditions could be combined, thus lowering the number of zones. If such cells are scattered throughout the city, a complex mosaic, containing a number of elements, appears. It is precisely this situation that distinguishes the largest cities compared with medium-sized and small towns.

The implementation of said procedures indicated that, as a rule, such breakdown of city zones assumes rather intricate shapes. Furthermore, according to the study (4), the activeness of Muscovites does not entirely take place within the boundaries of such areas. In order to cover a broader area of individual activities and select zones on a more substantiated basis, we must single out the large urban territories which present drastic distinctions. This problem was resolved as follows: using the statistical figures relative to the administrative rayons in Moscow, we established the socially significant indicators of differentiations in living conditions. The fragment study of such characteristics enabled us to combine administrative rayons into three zones. As in the preceding case, they turned out to be relatively homogeneous internally (i.e., they included rayons with approximately similar conditions) but quite different among each other in terms of the quality of living conditions. Incidentally, this enhanced the accuracy of the selection by reducing the importance of overall characteristic disparities (expressing varietal disparities).

In combining the systems obtained in both cases, each of the three zones of the second type encompassed the basic part of the corresponding (in terms of living conditions) smaller first-type zones. Naturally, the different scale of the initial cells, on the basis of which the zones were established, resulted in some cross sections. Some small zones considered among the best during the first stage found themselves in a territory which, in the second case, was rated "average" in terms of "quality of life." Such isolated

exceptions, however, are the inevitable price paid in any type of averaging. The classification we used involving a different statistical base and territorial units and social indicators, carried, furthermore, through different multidimensional statistical methods (cluster and factorial) yielded similar results: in both cases, as a whole, the boundaries of the better, average and worse zones coincided.

We recall that in order to see more clearly the differentiating impact of territorial factors on the population's way of life, we undertook to choose areas with contrasting urban environment characteristics. That is why within each of the three zones we choose such "polarized" cells. The latter were to represent not random "oases" or "neglected corners," but typical (most favorable or, conversely, least favorable) residential areas.

Following are the initial results: in order properly to reflect in the selection the differentiating influence of territorial factors, two procedures must be followed. First, we must obtain "microzones" which are internally homogeneous in terms of socioinfrastructural facilities. This can identify typical residential areas. However, such cells are excessively small and do not encompass the entire range of cultural and daily activities of the residents. The second task is to separate the urban space into large areas. Such areas are less homogeneous but their size enables the population within them to find better outlets for leisure-time activities. In Moscow the administrative rayons could be taken as such sectors for, which extensive statistical data are already available. It is precisely such a two-step method for breaking down the territory into micro- and macrozones that makes possible, on the one hand, to encompass quite fully the interaction between the individual and the urban environment and, on the other, to present both a maximally detailed as well as maximally consolidated picture of differentiations in living conditions. In turn, this enables us to trace within the groups, equalized in terms of sociodemographic and socioprofessional characteristics, the influence of the territorial factor on their way of life.

Said methodical principles were tested in the course of a study of the way of life conducted by the Institute of Economic Problems of the Comprehensive Development of Moscow's National Economy in 1982-1984. Before describing the specific procedure for the selection, let us note the following: the differentiating influence of the territorial factor is related above all to the availability of institutions belonging to the social infrastructure in the rayon. In addition to said circumstance, differences in the population's sociodemographic structure exert a substantial influence as well. Such differences have been studied to a significantly lesser extent. The territorial variations among demographic population characteristics are determined by a number of reasons, which include the features of historical developments and functional specifics of the given part of the city; features of reconstruction and new construction; primary settlement of territorial cells; changes in the population structure related to stages in the life cycle of families and exchange of housing; structure of jobs in the various rayons, and so on. The effect of said factors is the formation of local territorial communities in the large cities, different in terms of socioprofessional and

sociodemographic structure (4). We took this circumstance into consideration in the first stage of the selection.

How was the selection structured? A maximally complete list of characteristics depicting the development of the social infrastructure and the population's demographic composition was drawn up for Moscow's administrative rayons, based on the "Moscow in Figures" Statistical Yearbook, materials from population censuses and rayon planning commission data. On the basis of their thorough study we selected 20 indicators which, in our view, reflected the greatest territorial differentiations in population living conditions (see table 1). Applying the fragment analysis method, we singled out three types of rayons: 1. Baumanskiy, Dzerzhinskiy, Kalininskiy, Kievskiy, Krasnopresnenskiy, Leninskiy, Moskvoretskiy, Oktyabrskiy, Sverdlovskiy, Sokolnicheskiy, and Frunzenskiy (11); 2. Babushkinskiy, Brezhnevskiy, Volgogradskiy, Voroshilovskiy, Gagarinskiy, Zhdanovskiy, Zheleznodorozhnyy, Kirovskiy, Kuybyshevskiy, Kuntsevskiy, Leningradskiy, Lyublinskiy, Pervomayskiy, Perovskiy, Proletarskiy, Sevastopolskiy, Sovetskiy, Timiryazevskiy, and Tushinskiy (19); 3. Krasnogvardeyskiy.

Table 1.                      Infrastructural and Sociodemographic Profiles  
of Clusters (Rayon Types)\*

Indicator	Mean Values		
	1	2	3
Number of physicians (per 10,000 population)	0.919	-0.563	-0.510
Number of places in children's preschool establishments (per 1,000 children)	0.478	-0.183	-2.220
Polyclinic capacity (visits per shift)	-0.214	-0.162	0.034
Number of individuals with higher and unfinished higher training (per 1,000 population)	0.920	-0.527	-1.106
Number of seats in movie theatres (per 1,000 population)	0.873	-0.511	0.967
Number of visitors per public library	-0.682	0.407	0.469
Movie attendance (per person per year)	0.883	-0.524	-0.823
Store commercial area (per 1,000 people), including:	0.960	-0.546	-1.558
Foodstuffs	1.066	-0.603	-0.864
Industrial and other items	0.887	-0.512	-0.819
Number of places in cafeterias (public section) (per 1,000 population)	0.931	-0.542	-0.988
Average number of people per apartment	0.940	-0.624	0.286
Average number of families per communal apartment	1.055	-0.675	-0.133
Volume of population services marketed (per person, rubles)	-0.030	0.063	-0.107
Number of service enterprises (per 1,000 population)	0.496	-0.264	-1.091
Share of population under 16	-0.880	0.441	2.158
Share of population over 60	1.065	-0.582	-1.829
Population density, people per hectare	0.447	-0.226	-1.167
Share of the population working in a given rayon to its entire population	0.607	-0.377	-1.146
Average family size	-1.08	0.635	1.182

\*Standardized values:

Table 2. Factors of Territorial Differentiation of Living Conditions\*

Indicator	Factorial Value
	Factor I
Integral indicator of capacity of transport centers, points	0.881
Existence of subway and railroad stations in the rayon**	0.854
No of rayons accessible in under 90 minutes from the given rayon	0.824
Convenience of transportation links with neighboring rayons	0.703
Availability of surface public transport	0.668
No of rayons accessible in under 30 minutes from the given rayon	0.655
Factorial "contribution", %	19.8
	Factor II
Distance from the center to the rayon, street length, kilometer	0.966
No of rayons accessible in under 45 minutes from the present rayon	0.901
Existence of direct spatial link between the rayon and the periphery	0.854
Density of public transport roots, kilometers/ <sup>2</sup> kilometers	0.820
No of rayons accessible in under 60 minutes from the given rayon	0.715
Availability of direct spatial link with open nature territories	0.670
Factorial "contribution", %	15.1
	Factor III
Share of landscaped territory in the rayon	0.938
Density of cultural institutions, seats/ <sup>2</sup> kilometers	0.929
Density of theaters and concert halls, seats/ <sup>2</sup> kilometers	0.898
Convenience of transport links with residential districts, points	0.794
Factorial "contribution", %	9.1
	Factor IV
Rayon population density, people/ <sup>2</sup> kilometers	0.945
Integral indicator of development of trade and public catering network	0.905
Density of food stores, <sup>2</sup> meters of useful area per <sup>2</sup> kilometer	0.585
Factorial "contribution", %	6.1
	Factor V
Existence of direct spatial links with the center	0.807
Rayon's location in terms of the center	0.740
Time of traveling from the center on public transport, minutes	0.492
Factorial "contribution", %	5.2
	Factor VI
Density of movie theatres, seats/ <sup>2</sup> kilometers	0.783
Density of durable goods stores, <sup>2</sup> meter/ <sup>2</sup> kilometer	0.697
Percentage of industrial area in the rayon	-0.409
Factorial "contribution", %	4.3
	Factor VII
Integral indicator of development of cultural service facilities	0.873
Density of sports installations, seats/ <sup>2</sup> kilometers	0.808
Factorial "contribution", %	4.0
	Factor VIII
Closeness to industrial zones, kilometers	0.786
Percentage of industrial zone in the rayon	0.656
Closeness to landscaped territories	-0.548
Factorial "contribution", %	3.7

\*Only those of the 34 indicators the contribution of which is sufficiently high in the interpretation of factors are included. \*\*Here and subsequently pertaining not to administrative but to computation rayons.



The rayons included in the first type are part of the internal administrative area, i.e., they are either limited by the Sadovoye Koltso or are adjacent to it. That is why this type can be considered "central." Zhdanovskiy and Proletarskiy rayons are the only two rayons geographically adjacent to but not part of said group. They are relatively new rayons with developed industry (which is not characteristic of the "center"). This type could be described as "peripheral," for its rayons are located in the external administrative area, i.e., they are adjacent to the circumferential highway without, however, bordering on Sadovoye Koltso. Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon, which is singled out as a special third type, is substantially different both from the "center" and the "periphery." The mean characteristics of each type are given in table 1.

As we pointed out, the typology of the administrative rayons provides a consolidated picture of living condition differentiations. In order to single out "contrasting" sectors within these areas, we used data from the zoning of Moscow's territory which were made by the Department of Development and Reconstruction of the Urban Environment of the Moscow General Plan NIIPI. Essentially, this means the following: The urban territory is broken down into sectors (so called computation rayons), surrounding the local transportation center. Their territory is based on the assumption that the entire population could be assembled within this conventional center in no more than 8 to 12 minutes. In the majority of cases, the rayon boundaries resemble a circumference with a one-kilometer radius; their average dimension is 2 x 2 km (5). The cells within the center of the city are somewhat smaller compared with those on the periphery, particularly those without a subway station. Each computation rayon is determined with the help of 56 indicators which characterize the development of the social infrastructure, the transport accessibility of the center and the city periphery, the closeness of housing and of industrial areas, position on the city map, nature and historical value of buildings, etc. Since not all parameters reflect the quality of living conditions, the list was reduced to 34 indicators.

Based on such studies, we charted a map of the city and areas gravitating toward it, consisting of 469 computed rayons; 423 were within the Moscow circumferential highway (MKAD) and 46 beyond it. We compared them on the basis of selected indicators using the factorial analysis method. This method has already been tested in the study of the city's territorial organization (3; 7).

Factorial analysis enabled us to convert 34 primary parameters into eight consolidated factors covering some 70 percent of the dispersion characteristics (see table 2). Before analyzing its results, let us note the following: each factor in the multidimensional territorial organization of the urban environment reflects its specific aspect and is formed by variables with similar territorial outlines (7).

Factor No 1 includes six indicators applicable to the development of the transportation and road networks. Let us name it the transportation factor; the second factor as well consist of six variables characterizing the direct spatial links of the rayon. We interpreted this factor as the degree of distance from the center, or its peripheral nature in the geographic meaning of the term. The indicators composing the third factor (density of cultural institutions, landscaped territory and closeness of residential districts)

led us to describe it as cultural-recreational. The fourth factor consists of variables characterizing population density and network of commercial-consumer services. The parameters combined within the fifth factor reflect the transport and spatial-planning "interconnection" between the rayon and the center. The sixth factor consist of indicators of the density of motion picture theaters and durable-goods stores; the seventh shows the density of the network of sports facilities and enterprises providing cultural services. The eighth factor is characterized by the circumstance that an inverse dependence exist between the first two indicators reflecting the industrial nature of the territory and the last—closeness to landscaped areas.

Consequently, we obtained eight dissimilar territorial pictures of urban construction elements which, superimposed and crisscrossing in different combinations, provide a basic picture of the living conditions of Muscovites.

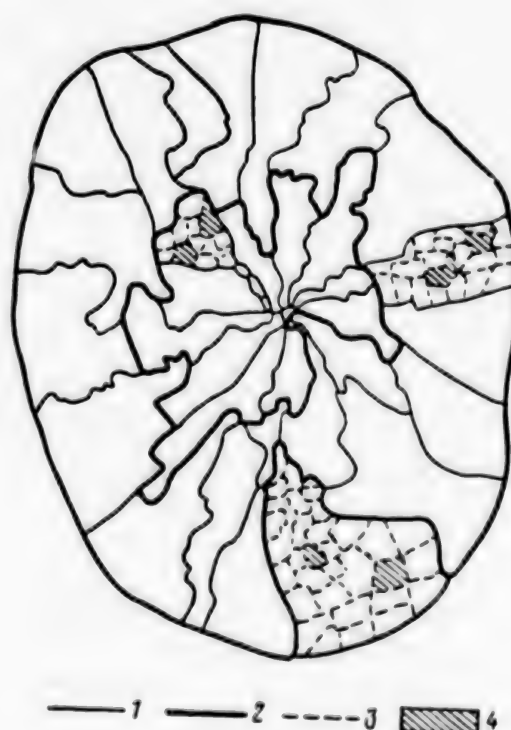


Figure 1. Conventional Diagram of the City's Territorial Differentiation

1. Administrative rayon boundaries; 2. Zonal boundaries;
3. Computation rayon boundaries; 4. Computation rayons included in the selection. Not indicated in the diagram are the boundaries of the nuclei of administrative rayons not included in selection.

How to classify the computed rayons in accordance with these factors? The optimal way in such situations is to rate the nuclei on the basis of factorial importance; the higher the rating the better equipped is the territory from the viewpoint of its social infrastructure. We then select from the overall scale nuclei representing "extreme" ("leaders" and "outsiders") and "normal" values (the middle part of the series).

We selected among the eight factors those which reflect the territorial differences in living conditions and could be determining factors in way-of-life differentiations. Factors describing the location of the rayon on the city map (2 and 5) were not used. The highest rating, 1, was ascribed to nuclei with the highest factorial indicators I, III, IV, VI and VII, for it is precisely their increased value that expresses improvements in living conditions and development of the social infrastructure. The opposite situation which prevails in the case of factor No VIII is the "industrial nature of the territory." The high values of the latter confirm a decline in the quality of the habitat. Subsequent to the independent factorial rating of the computed rayons, we estimated the overall ratings characterizing living conditions. The increased value of the integral indicator is therefore consistent with the lowered quality of the urban environment.

This procedure was repeated for each of the three previously singled out zones--central, peripheral and Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon. A comparison was made among all computed rayons within the zone. The "leading" sector in the central zone was also the city "champion." The city-wide "outsider" was found in Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon. The peripheral "leader" occupies an intermediary position between the "best" and "worst" sectors (see Figure 1). We selected in the zones the computed rayons of the exclusively administrative units which had "delegated" the maximum number of its representatives to the specific segment on the scale. If several rayons had provided an equal number of nuclei in the selection, the procedure was as follows: in the first and second zones, where "leader" nuclei were defined, we selected administrative rayons whose computed rayons in the "ranking tables" had received the smallest amount of points (the place in the ranking of the computed rayons was used as an indicator). In the third zone, conversely, we selected nuclei with the highest number of points, for the purpose this time was to identify the "outsiders." The resulting integral scale rated all urban territorial sections. Let us also note that the results of the factorial analysis of the computed rayons is consistent with the classification of the administrative units developed with the help of the cluster analysis.

During the second stage of the selection, we chose the DEZ or Zhek within the typical nuclei, located closer to the rayon center. In "peripheral" DEZ, individual behavior is influenced both by the infrastructure of this and the neighboring rayon, for which reason its consideration could drastically distort the picture. The third stage included the selection of families. Here we proceeded from the assumption that a correlation exist between the size of the family and the number of rooms in their apartment. The individual homes were defined in such a way that in the choice of quotas premises with different number of rooms must be consistent with the structure of the city's housing. Figure 2 is a general diagram of this selection.

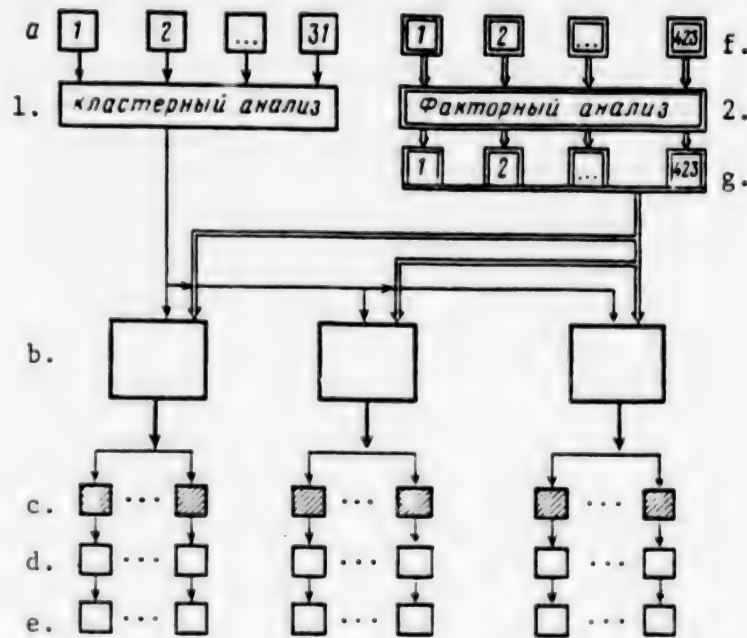


Figure 2. Diagram used in structuring the territorial selection for sociological studies of a very large city

a. Large urban sections (administrative rayons); b. Zones; c. Computed rayons; d. DEZ; e. Families; f. Small territorial nuclei; g. Nuclei rated by degree of development of the social infrastructure; 1. Cluster analysis; 2. Factorial analysis

The value of a multidimensional classification of the urban environment is not limited to planning selections for sociological research. This method helps us to obtain information on spatial disproportions in the development of the largest cities, i.e., to use such information directly in preplanning and planning developments concerning the location of service and transportation institutions and starting new housing construction.

This method could be used in setting standards for apartment rentals, differentiated according to the quality of the residential area. Such a scale should list the value of the "social rent" expressed through the payment of house rents. Such suggestions have been repeatedly made in publications (6). Their implementation would enable us to eliminate the type of "rent" which is currently charged arbitrarily in moving. Furthermore, this procedure can be applied for urban construction purposes as well. Occasionally the underestimating of territorial differentiations in living conditions leads to major urban construction errors.

Information on the actual behavior of urban residents and on the actual utilization of social benefits is, in our deep conviction, a reliable foundation for surmounting shortcomings in providing population living



conditions, improving urban construction plans and equalizing socioterritorial disproportions in the development of the largest cities.

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FACTS, COMMENTS, NOTES (FROM THE SOCIOLOGIST'S DESK)

FROM COMPLEMENTARINESS TO UNIVERSALITY (ON THE SOCIAL ROLES OF MEN AND WOMEN)

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 88-91

[Article by Ivo Mozhny (Czechoslovakia), Dr of philosophy, deputy head of chair of Marxist-Leninist sociology, Brno University. Author of the books published in the Czech language "Computer Processing of Sociological Information" (1979) and "Family: Spouses with Higher Education" (1983). Translated from the Czech by E.G. Lavrik]

[Text] The separation of the social roles played by men and women is considered natural. Even specialists proceed, overtly or covertly, from the fact that it is the women who bear de facto responsibility for the family institution, where as the male function is limited merely to helping the women perform this difficult role. The problem which shall be discussed here requires the interpretation and even reinterpretation of a number of theoretical concepts. Before undertaking the interpretation of the main results of our study, we would like to express at this point a few preliminary remarks of a methodological nature.

Ethnographic studies convincingly proved that virtually total complementariness existed in ancient human societies, in which the "universal" individual was an irrelevant abstraction. Male and female "space" existed within each social "territory," with different legitimate male and female objectives and "logic." A differentiation between the male and female "world" may be noted to this day. It is inherent, to a greater or lesser extent, in the cultures of Latin America, Africa, Asia and Oceania. Starting with the European renaissance, a different viewpoint as well developed in the social consciousness, according to which inherent in the person are universal qualities and needs with no differences whatsoever, including sexual. The latter are not essential but, rather, marginal and assume priority only in areas such as multiplication, giving birth and the earliest child-care period.

Therefore, instead of complementariness this presumes more or less total interchangeability (naturally, within a sensible limit, beyond which calls for equality become offensive and humorous). Modern industrial society could not function had labor been subdivided strictly into male and female. People of either sex have become adapted to carrying out the same type of work, identically receptive to reality around them and showing identical needs.

Sociologically, this means sexual universality for the overwhelming majority of social roles, and a breakdown of areas previously considered purely "male" or purely "female." Naturally, this process is not smooth. Data from our study (this article is based on studies conducted by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and Sociology and the Marxist Sociology Chair of Brno University in Czechoslovak cities with a population of more than 100,000. A total of 1,302 full families of 14 to 18-year duration were surveyed in 1984), confirm some adaptation difficulties encountered by both men and women and by the family as a whole, in converting from traditional complementarity to contemporary universalization of male and female social roles. Some very ancient family behavioral structures proved to be exceptionally durable. Unlike the labor area, where the principle of interchangeability is implemented quite fully, family life continues to experience the influence of traditional tribal dualism.

We found the answers of our respondents to the question of ties with the parents, both the husband's and wife's interesting from this point of view. In the majority of cases, both "halves" agree that the wife's parents help in housework, the education of the children and the use of leisure time more than the husband's. It is true that wives appreciate less than their husbands the help in household chores provided by their own fathers and mothers and in-laws, noting that the burden of such work falls entirely on the housewife. However, it is also their opinion that their parents dedicate more time and effort than the husband's parents in raising their grandchildren; they are frequently the cause of family disputes and difficulties. However, they also try to do everything possible to resolve conflict situations and reconcile the spouses. Although men believe women to be somewhat prejudiced in their assessments, as a whole they do acknowledge the priority of women in preserving family values. As to material aid, the senior generation gives such aid more frequently than it receives; the respondents unanimously agreed that the aid provided by the wife's parents is more substantial.

Therefore, the dominating role of women in the main areas of family life, such as household chores, children's education and money matters, is manifested in the fact that not only does the wife itself make a greater "contribution" (we shall consider this in greater detail later) but so do her parents as well.

As a whole, relations with members of the senior generation may be considered benevolent. However, we note here some fine yet typical nuances (see table). The table shows that, to a certain extent, the respondents have a better relationship with their mothers and their father-in-law than with their fathers and mothers-in-law. Let us note that the parents of the wife lived with the families we studied in 10.5 percent of the cases, compared with 2.6 percent of the husband's parents, while the remaining families lived alone.

The insufficiently close contacts with the husband's parents is no accident. Such a style of relations existed in previous generations and will be reproduced in subsequent ones. As our survey indicated, the child feels closer to his mother not only in early childhood, when this is natural, and not only in families where the mother does not work while the father works late, for which reason he does not participate in family life (only 2 percent of women respondents were unemployed). It is more a question of a rather

stable model of family relations, in which the father is by no means assigned the main role. It is precisely with the mother rather than the father that the adolescent discusses most of his problems pertaining to school, comrades, movies, fashion and sex. The only area in which the father "retains his priority" is in sports and politics. He is less interested in the school problems of his son or daughter and, although expected to do so, speaks of his work less than does the mother. Furthermore, in the opinion of all surveyed family members, by no means does the father always have a decisive influence on the choice of a profession by his offspring.

Percentage of Respondents Rating Their Relationship with Relatives as Good, %

Relatives	Wife	Husband
Mother	90.3	84.9
Father	85.1	82.5
Mother-in-law	76.1	74.1
Father-in-law	76.3	74.8

The traditional authority of the father is manifested today in the fact that he gives orders more frequently than the mother, while she usually requests or insists. It is not astounding, therefore, that in 10 percent of the cases the children describe their relations with their father as poor (twice as frequently as with their mother). Furthermore, the other conclusion which may be drawn in this case is that of the "unstable" status of the father in the family, for a "strong" person has merely to ask whereas the "weak" one must order.

In questioning the children, we paid attention to the noteworthy feature of the widespread nature of "diplomatic" answers, in which the child did not single out one of the parents but preferred to use the term "both" as his answer. This answer suits the adolescent both from the psychological and the social viewpoints, allowing him, on the one hand, to remain loyal and to conceal differences within the family and, on the other, to avoid suspicion of insincerity, for the expression "both" is entirely consistent with the principle of interchangeability of sexes, which has become firmly rooted in the public consciousness.

In our view, it would be a methodological error to take such answers as reflecting the real situation. The fact that in all other cases the child would refer more frequently to his mother than his father indicates that the priority of women remains unquestionable in areas of family life such as raising the children.

In addition to these, we were also interested in problems of the breakdown of household chores and decision-making within the family. Can we speak here of universal functions or does tribal dualism retain its influence in such areas? No simple answer to this question can be given. On the one hand, most respondents (84 percent of the women and 67.2 percent of the men) believe that boys as well as girls must participate in all household chores. A differentiated approach to household obligations was supported by 14.2 percent of mothers and 31.5 percent of fathers, classifying such obligations into



purely "male" and purely "female." Correspondingly, only 1.8 and 1.3 percent of the respondents believed that household chores are to be performed by women, for which reason only girls should be taught such work.

These data prove that the principle of interchangeability of sexes in an area of family life, such as the distribution of household chores, has sunk rather deep roots in the public consciousness. This is clearly manifested in the views of the people concerning "the way it should be." On the other hand, however, in reality the even distribution of household chores is rare. In one-half of the families we studied both spouses shop, care for clothing and shoes and clean the apartment; in the rest of the cases this was done by women only. No more than in 25 percent of the families did both spouses cook and wash laundry; in 75 percent of the cases, once again, this was done by the wife exclusively. At the same time, wives are virtually ignorant of how to make minor house repairs or take care of the car, considering this to be a strictly male occupation.

It becomes even more difficult to claim that the principle of universality exist in decision making within the family. We considered two aspects: who decides on family budget problems and who manages the household economy? Even taking into consideration the fact that the views of the spouses were by no means always identical (in the overwhelming majority of cases the reason for the differences is the exaggerated self-rating of the men), and the insignificant number of evasive answers, the conclusion is that the husband's opinion was not decisive in the discussion of important family problems. The data supporting our conclusion are the following: according to the wives, the husband handles the money in 4.6 percent of the families and deals with problems of household management in 1.7 percent. According to the husbands, these indicators were somewhat higher (5.7 and 3.3 percent, respectively); however, they too needed no comment.

The general conclusion is the following; the family remains the wife's field of activities. The role of the men is passive although it may seem that no one denies the husband his leadership rights.

We analyzed differences in the division of labor and rights within the family. Let us now consider the situation as assessed by the respondents. The survey data were quite unexpected: women were less satisfied than men with their situation. Thus, 16.2 percent of the women did not conceal their sharply negative attitude to the fact that they are forced to make important decisions in the family alone. Furthermore, 22.7 percent of the women were contemplating divorce precisely for that reason, so that the dissatisfaction they expressed could hardly be interpreted merely as a declaration or a strategic line of behavior. An even higher percentage of women--39 percent--were dissatisfied with the participation of their partner in household work. For the sake of comparison let us note that 93.3 percent of husbands were overall satisfied with the division of labor in the home.

A study of the condition of family-marital relations cannot exclude a study of professional activities of the spouses, i.e., the manner in which the job influences family life. Noteworthy, above all, is the universal employment of women. Whereas 65.9 percent of mothers, among the women we surveyed, were

employed, 97.9 percent of all women respondents worked and only 5.5 percent of them worked part-time. The overwhelming majority of men were satisfied with this situation; in any case, only 2 percent of the women informed us that their husbands were against their going to work. It would be fair to acknowledge, however, that men's views did not always coincide in this case. In answering this question, they more frequently (approximately by a factor of 2.5) expressed the wish that their wives would "stay home." Actually, it is not excluded that the wives know their husbands better than the husbands know themselves.

Generally, speaking, a noteworthy social phenomenon became apparent in the study of the answers. In the contemporary family living in a big city, it is not the husband who is dissatisfied with his wife's employment but it is the wife who takes a critical view (and expresses this more energetically) of the fact that the husband is too involved with his work and does not perform his domestic obligations quite conscientiously.

Naturally, this can be explained with objective reasons, such as the greater work load of the men. As a rule, they hold higher positions, are frequently asked to work overtime, participate in all kinds of production meetings and conferences and attend skill upgrading courses. In other words, in terms of time and degree of responsibility, the job plays a more important role in the life of men than of women. This is confirmed by the following data: 63.9 percent of the men are more tired from work on the job than at home, compared to 24.8 percent among women; the monthly salaries of 52.3 percent of the men averaged 3,000 korunas, compared with only among 5.8 percent of the women. Furthermore, the attitude toward the job and the perception of the significance of work were different among men and women in terms of many other parameters as well. Men set greater value in their jobs to interest and variety and the possibility of productively displaying their ability and independence. Women find it more important to establish a common language with their associates, a favorable moral and psychological climate and the absence of stress situations.

So far, in our family sociology it has been a question of the "person-man" or "person-woman," ignoring the specific characteristics of the situation of men. We tried to take a first step in a neglected area. However, the systematic study of this area could yield quite fruitful results.

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## SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC ASPECTS OF TOURISM

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[Article by Petr Grigoryevich Gorodetskiy, member of the Soviet Sociological Association. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] Tourism is a very popular type of active recreation. It contributes to ideological-political, moral and aesthetic upbringing, broadens the outlook, brings people together and meets their need for meaningful recreation and communion with nature. As an important component in the service industry, tourism significantly influences the development of other sectors of the national economic complex. Nor should we ignore the impact of this form of recreation on upgrading the population's territorial mobility.

Unfortunately, sociology still quite rarely concerns itself with tourism. Yet tens of millions of people spent their leisure time in tourism. For example, there were 60.8 million tourists in 1982. It is noteworthy that organized tourism accounted for 34.1 million active tourists (1). For comparison's sake let us note that 14 to 15 million people annually participate in one-way migrations (2). Consequently, the frequency of tourist trips is quadruple that of one-way moves.

Who are the members of the restless tourist tribe? How do they rate the organization of travels and excursions? To answer these and other questions, together with associates from the Demography Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Sociological Research, this author conducted a sociological study in two traditional tourist parts of the country: the Carpathians and the Crimea. For purposes of our study we selected 16 all-union planned itineraries of four types: hiking, skiing, by bus and combined. The "Your Tourist Recreation" survey was made at the final points of destination. The survey covered 731 people.

The overwhelming majority of tourists (90 percent) are employed in the various sectors of the national economy; 8 percent are VUZ and technical school students, and students attending secondary schools and PTU; the remaining 2 percent are retired. Approximately 25 percent of them hold an elective position in a party, trade union or Komsomol organization and 17 percent actively participate in social projects. The respondents are characterized by their high educational standard: 75 percent of them have higher (41 percent), unfinished higher and secondary specialized training; 17 percent had general secondary training and only 8 percent had incomplete secondary training. Most

of the organized tourists were specialized employees, while the number of workers, kolkhoz members and nonspecialist employees was substantially lesser.

Virtually all tourists (95 percent) are urban residents, 25 percent of whom live in the capitals of union republics and more than half in the capitals of autonomous republics and kray and oblast centers. The share of those coming from small towns and urban-type settlements was 20 percent. Unfortunately, organized tourism has still not become a form of mass recreation for rural residents, for they numbered no more than 5 percent of the respondents.

Where do tourists visiting the Carpathians and the Crimea come from? Most of them (64 percent) come from the RSFSR (12 percent higher than the republic's share of the country's entire population). People from the Ukraine account for only 13 percent, or less than the share of the Republic in the USSR population by a factor of 1.5; 7 percent of the tourists come from the Baltic areas and 4 percent from Belorussia. Moldavia, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan account for 1 percent each of the surveyed individuals. In our selection we found no members of the other union republics. The conclusion, therefore, is that individuals in areas whose population is distinguished by low one-way migration mobility (above all the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus) should become more actively involved in tourist travel.

Among the tourists the number of women was nearly double that of men. The age breakdown of the tourists was extremely uneven: nearly 50 percent of those surveyed were young people aged 20 to 29; the 30-39-year age group accounted for nearly one-third and the 40-49, for 15 percent. No more than 6 percent of the tourists were adolescents under 20 and only 4 percent were 50 or older. Whereas there were one-third more more women tourists in the 40-49-age group, the number of women in the 20-24-year age group was nearly quadruple that of the men.

Singles accounted for a rather high percentage of the tourists, nearly 20 percent of the respondents. As to family status, most of the individuals in our survey were unmarried, as follows: never married, 49 percent, and divorced, 10 percent. A very noteworthy fact was that the number of married men tourists was double that of married women.

The study showed that most tourists (57 percent) have had experience in moving their permanent residence; 25 percent of them have moved twice and one out of three, three or more times.

Were our respondents accidental participants in such trips or had they been influenced by practicing tourism previously? Although the share of former members of tourist sections or clubs was relatively small (15 percent) as was that of current members (6 percent), the overwhelming majority (80 percent) had participated in tourist trips organized by enterprises and establishments; two-thirds of them had taken part in three or more such excursions; 60 percent of the respondents had already used tourist passes; half of them had used them more than twice and 25 percent of them, more than five times.

Almost 50 percent of the respondents had spent their previous leaves outside their oblast (kray, autonomous or union republic without oblast divisions); 25



percent had spent two of their last three leaves, and 12 percent, at least one. Six percent of those surveyed had spent their previous three leaves in individual or organized tourist trips; 11 percent had traveled during two of their last three leaves and 20 percent had traveled once. In our study tourism turned out to be a more popular form of spending the annual leave for the preceding 3 years, compared to going to a rest home, boarding house, sports camp, sanatorium, in a summer cottage, or with relatives.

A substantial number of tourists (29 percent) travel with relatives, including 16 percent with their spouse and 6 percent with their daughter (son). An even higher number (41 percent) had come to the tourist base with friends or acquaintances.

Forty percent of those surveyed had paid the full price for their pass (at the raykom or gorkom of the trade union, the soviet, the tourist bureau or directly on arrival at the tourist base); the majority (75 percent) consider the cost of the pass entirely acceptable; the others believe that it is excessively high. In addition to buying the pass and the cost of the trip, the tourists have additional expenditures related to the trip; for 40 percent of them this amounted to 50 rubles; 38 percent spent between 51 and 100 rubles; and 22 percent, more than 100 rubles. Most of this money was spent on entertainment (50 percent of the respondents), additional food (25 percent), travel items (10 percent), gifts, souvenirs, and taking snapshots (8 percent). The total cost of a tourist trip (including the cost of the pass, the trip and additional expenditures) was considered entirely acceptable by two-thirds of the respondents.

In rating the trip, only 40 percent of those surveyed considered it totally successful and only one-half, quite interesting. Another important aspect of the travel which does not entirely satisfy the tourists is that no more than 46 percent had had a good physical rest; the others considered themselves insufficiently rested and some (5 percent) even more tired than at the beginning of their leave. The reasons for this phenomenon are partially explained by answers to the following question: "What was your main reason for buying a tourist pass?" The predominant reason for tourist trips was the cognitive aspect, "the possibility to see new interesting places, cities and sites" (68 percent); the second and third were evenly split between "the possibility to spend time among nature" and "to strengthen one's health" (40 percent each) (respondents were allowed to name several reasons). Some of the respondents considered quite important "the opportunity of gaining new friends and acquaintances." This reason was noted by the 20-29-year age group twice as frequently as among the 30-39-year age group.

Many aspects of tourist services are still inconsistent with the demands and needs of the tourists. Thus, only one-third of the respondents were fully satisfied with living conditions and services, medical aid, cultural activities and sports in the course of their trip. Only 25 percent of the tourist had no claims concerning available books and work of libraries at tourist bases or the variety of stores. More than one-half of the respondents were dissatisfied with the food (quality as well as service standards in cafeterias). Satisfaction with work of guides and instructors differed: 64 percent of the tourist were fully satisfied with the training and skill of the

guides; however, a similar rating of instructors was given by only one-half of the respondents. Only 30 percent of the tourists considered overall services good; 60 percent considered them satisfactory and 10 percent poor or very poor.

Despite these shortcomings, however, the overwhelming majority of those surveyed (81 percent) intended to take another tourist trip and one-half of them planned to do so the following year. The respondents considered most attractive hiking or bus and boat trips (39, 38 and 30 percent respectively); canoeing and skiing trips were less popular (15 and 13 percent); lovers of train trips (8 percent), on horseback (6 percent) and cycling (4 percent) were extremely few.

We noted a connection between the desire to take a tourist trip and migration activities: the more moves a respondent had made during his life the greater was his desire to participate in organized tourism (see table).

#### Link Between Migration Activeness and the Desire to Travel, %

Number of Migrations	Would like to take a tourist trip		Could Not Answer
	Yes	No	
One	72	9	19
Two	80	5	15
Three	83	5	12
Four	84	8	8
Five or more	86	10	4

The results of this study may have seemed monotonous to the readers and excessively overburdened with figures. However, this is a first study of this kind described in a professional sociological journal and it is natural for us to consider each breakdown important. We trust that the information summed up here will serve as a guideline to personnel in the tourist industry, organizers in particular, in the efforts to improve tourism, which is the most popular form of utilization of leisure time, leave and summer holidays by the population.

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## EXPERT SURVEY AS A METHOD FOR PUBLIC OPINION STUDY

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[Article by Boris Zusmanovich Doktorov, candidate of psychological sciences and senior scientific associate at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Socioeconomic Problems. Specialist in the study of mass communications and public opinion. Author of the monograph "O Nadezhnosti Izmereniya v Sotsiologicheskoy Issledovani" [On the Reliability of Measurements in Sociological Research] (1979). Author of the following articles published in our journal: "Improving Returns of Surveys by Mail" (No 1, 1981), "Methodological Chart of Public Opinion Studies" (No 1, 1984) and others]

[Text] Soviet public opinion researchers can turn to a rich arsenal of means of gathering and analyzing empirical data. This includes numerous varieties of population surveys, studies of documents, press materials and letters of the working people, observations, etc. Nevertheless, the possibilities of further improving already mastered and finding new methods is by no means exhausted. In particular, expert surveys have been ignored in publications on the study of the status of public opinion and the processes through which it is shaped. Yet the use of this method in the study of public opinion could be quite efficient.

We shall try to substantiate our viewpoint and earmark ways of resolving some methodical and organizational problems.

Let us begin with a preliminary remark. In formulating arguments in favor of expert surveys in the study of public opinion, we do not in the least try to exaggerate the importance of this method, realizing that it is erroneous to pit one method against another and that the consideration of all means used in the study of public opinion in their combination is even more important in the case of topics in which hypotheses, assumptions, expectations and unknown features are much more prevalent compared to what has already been confirmed, learned and tried.

What justifies turning to experts? The conclusion of specialists who, by virtue of their daily professional activities, are engaged in the study of the condition and dynamics of public opinion could provide a reliable and accurate picture, the accuracy of which is equal to mass surveys.

Since public opinion is always focused on a specific problem and involves the attitude toward a specific social problem, the status of expert (with certain qualifications) could be bestowed, first of all, to specialists dealing with

the study of various aspects of this problem; secondly, this could apply to members of social institutions who must resolve such problems in the interest of the entire society and, thirdly, to individuals responsible for molding public opinion concerning a specific social problem.

What is the basis for the expectation that these specialist categories are in principle able to judge public opinion? Does this not include a certain conceptual error? Should we listen to the views of those to whom the study of public opinion is not the most important, the main objective in their professional activities? We believe such fears to be unwarranted. Here is why: the basic principles governing our social system are unity of outlook of the Soviet people, their active life stance, collectivistic relations, democracy and open discussions of the most crucial problems of state life. In other words, social life—which, precisely, is what public opinion reflects—is open to a person interested in the constructive solution of crucial problems.

The rightfulness of turning to such groups of specialists is also dictated by the profound tradition according to which the progressive Soviet intelligentsia lives among the people and is familiar with and shares their concern. By virtue of their direct professional obligations, party and soviet workers, journalists and writers steadily turn to the representatives of the broadest possible population strata, for which reason they are fully justified in judging the condition of public opinion and the activities of the social institutions which shape it. Nor are the members of the scientific and technical intelligentsia separated and oriented only toward the implementation of their strictly professional assignments. Turning to scientists in the study of public opinion is particularly important in the case of ecological problems.

The effectiveness of involving experts in gathering public opinion data is not reduced exclusively to the formulation of logical arguments. The study of empirical experience and the results of respective sociological practices assume important significance as well. Let us consider in this connection some methodical results of the study on "Interaction Between Mass Information Media and Public Opinion Under the Conditions of Socialist Relations (With the Example of the Study of the Perception of the Environment)" (the formulation of this program and the research methods was the work of Soviet and Hungarian scientists. The Soviet side was represented by the USSR Academy of Sciences ISEP, Tartu State University, the Estonian SSR State Television and Radio Computer Center and the Komsomol Central Committee Higher Komsomol School Scientific Research Center (1)). The expert survey was conducted in Lithuania, Estonia and Leningrad. Our study is based on the Leningrad array.

The most important thing in the organization of an expert survey is to ensure the maximal uniformity of primary information and, at the same time, to identify and record the specific views held by every respondent. The extensive practical and professional experience of the experts and their personal qualities influence both the procedure applied in preparing for and conducting a survey as well as the nature of empirical data processing. On the one hand, we must bring to light the general trend of the judgments and



viewpoints on the problem, typical of the professionals; on the other, it is important to "save" each shade of meaning and prevent equalization of answers.

In the use of the expert survey we must take into consideration that the many-sidedness and complexity of public opinion also requires a professionally heterogeneous expert group. The Leningrad group (50 people) included highly skilled specialists in ecology and use of nature, writers, journalists familiar with such problems, and heads of the city and rayon sanitary-epidemiological services. The scientists included hygienists, biologists, philosophers, economists and developers of new environmental quality control equipment. The journalists included personnel from the television and radio and documentary film makers.

The composition of the group was based on the "snow-ball" method, according to which the experts named competent specialists who, in turn, became part of the experts' group. The suggested candidacies were checked on the basis of predetermined qualimetric indicators (four basic qualimetric criteria applied in the selection of experts can be singled out: 1. Degree of information; 2. Confidence, i.e., ability to make responsible decisions in one's own professional area firmly and substantiatedly; 3. Objectivity, i.e., the ability to express one's true opinion in the course of the expert evaluation; 4. Interest and suitable opportunity for participating in the survey). Although this method is not free from shortcomings, for the time being no serious alternative to it exists.

The selected respondents (1,000 Leningraders) were to assess 11 views which covered quite adequately the set of current ecological problems. The following choices were considered: "agrees entirely," "tends to agree," "tends to disagree," "totally disagrees," and "does not know and has not thought about it." The same set of judgments and evaluations was offered to the experts as well. However, they were asked not only to express their point of view but also to predict the reaction of public opinion. We thus had the possibility of comparing the views of the population with those of the specialists.

Let us consider the results of the study. More than 90 percent of the surveyed Leningraders assumed that it is necessary as of now to take active steps to protect the environment. This matched the percentage of experts who had predicted such a population's reaction. A total of 88 percent of the citizens considered the closer study of ecological traditions justified; this was predicted by 83 percent of the experts; 85 percent of the mass surveyed participants consider wrong the failure to pay greater attention to ecological problems and approximately the same percentage of members of the expert group (87 percent) expected precisely this type of answer. The coefficient of rank correlation between the two corresponding indicators—the population's opinion and the experts' forecast—equaled 0.84. They were close not only in terms of the rating of priorities but also in terms of the absolute values of compared indicators.

The objective difficulties in the use of this method for the study of public opinion are found above all in the multidimensional and multiple ratings of the expressed views. The task is, above all, to find the type of research

principles which would allow the expert to "deal" with a certain vagueness of public opinion and, in some cases, ignore it and single out the modal judgment groups.

Furthermore, we should not ignore the heterogeneous nature of the awareness of the experts. The point is that as we distance ourselves from the evaluation of an actual social problem, which operates as a public opinion target, and as we come closer to assessing public opinion itself, the specific features of the professional awareness, based on scientific information, take second place, whereas the characteristics of the ordinary awareness are emphasized. Finally, we should not exclude the fact that statements by experts sometimes (albeit rarely) are based exclusively on "common sense," for which reason errors or delusions are entirely likely (2).

Another important feature of major methodological significance is the following: in studying the views of experts, essentially the sociologist must interpret complex items such as group view of public opinion; in other words, he must analyze a special type of social reflection. Naturally, a number of gnosiological questions appear, including the following: would the use of the results of an expert survey lead to overestimating the position of specialists and underestimating mass survey data?

In setting the boundaries within which the expert method can be applied in the study of public opinion, we must bear in mind not only differences in subjective perceptions of one and the same phenomenon but also the different extent of readiness, predisposition and ability to translate this perception into the language suggested by the researchers. To a certain extent, this is a problem of a methodical nature, the solution of which presumes the formulation and consideration of the "personal equations" of the experts in processing and analyzing empirical data (3). The individual possibilities, personal characteristics, judgment skills and status of the experts are manifested in the answers most clearly. Some specialists gravitate toward "median" and "moderate" positions and the "central" gradations on sociological scales, as though always warning themselves "not to be excessively generous" or "not to be excessively strict." Others prefer the "extreme" variants and quite rarely resort to in-between alternatives.

Speaking of the use of the expert method in assessing the quality of the broadest possible type of items, objects and processes, we should make particular mention of the sufficiently fruitful efforts at qualimetric axiomatizing and at singling out common problems, above all that of defining the measurement target and technology, i.e., "what to measure?" and "how to measure it?" We believe that the answers to such questions will enable us to develop ways through which experts can be used also within the framework of public opinion studies.

The specific nature of public opinion and the objective of its study determine the need to solve the following problems: 1. To assess the condition and dynamics of public opinion and analyze the reasons which determine its structure; 2. To characterize the system governing the shaping of public opinions; 3. To upgrade the efficiency of the functioning of public opinion. Each of these blocks could be broken down into parts in accordance with the

specific area and research target, the structure of the expert groups and the material and technical facilities at the disposal of the sociologists.

Before we consider the individual features of public opinion concerning a specific problem situation, we must establish whether, as a matter principle, the experts consider a given problem situation as perceived by the population and individual population groups; does it create public interest and attention, is society discussing means of resolving the problem, etc.?

In undertaking the assessment of the status of public opinion we must consider its combined rational, emotional and practical aspects. In such a case the overall information will enable us to determine the level of maturity of public opinion quite fully.

The basis for the study of the rational component of public opinion is the idea of comparing judgments based on professional and specialized awareness and mass awareness. Since the former acts as a standard for the rational and scientific attitude toward the problem, the extent to which the answers of the population are similar to the reactions of the experts is an indicator of the competence and development of public opinion (within the framework of our study the experts were asked to indicate which among the types of the listed environmental protection activities was the population prepared to support through personal participation. The comparison between the experts' answers and the data of the mass survey confirmed that, as a whole, the specialists were able to "perceive" the nature of the public opinion quite reliably).

In a certain sense, the determination of the overall evaluation of the status of public opinion is the same as determining its effectiveness. Methodically, this problem was resolved through surveys aimed at determining the attitude of the experts toward the implementation of a number of specific functions by public opinion. Their clear gradation, apparent in the experts' answers, is a valuable feature above all in terms of meaning. At the same time, it also is of major significance as an instrument, for it confirms the "functionality" of said method.

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#### ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN MILITARY SOCIOLOGY

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85 (signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 98-101

[Article by Major Vladimir Nikolayevich Vedernikov and Major Gregoriy Pavlovich Regentov, students at the Military-Political Academy imeni V.I. Lenin. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] So far no critical study has been published in a scientific work on the sociological views of military theoreticians in prerevolutionary Russia. This small page in the history of domestic sociology is awaiting its discoverers. We would like to note a few features which may help future researchers to reconstruct past military-sociological views.

It would be entirely reasonable to note that efforts to study problems of interaction between army and society gave an impetus to the sociological interpretation of problems of military construction. Most noteworthy in this respect was the book by D.A. Milyutin "Initial Attempt at Military Statistics." The future minister of war noted that mass armed forces, the maintenance of which cost huge funds, "inevitably influenced the entire course of the government's structure of life" (1). Particularly indicative here is the author's understanding of the close interaction not only between the army and the social political system but between it and other aspects of activities of the latter. Acknowledging the fact that the army could influence the course of social development was a very progressive idea for its time. It would be pertinent to note that many military theoreticians of that time held another viewpoint. They considered the army as a narrow-caste social formation, isolated from society.

As a whole, Russian military sociology was a conglomeration of ideas and views. Suffice it to say that against the background of conservative good intentions, references to Marx and Engels could be found among the representatives of elitist liberalism (2, 3, 5). The principles of subjective idealism and positivism are the most frequently used methodological foundations in the study of military-social phenomena. The consideration of the problem of the interaction between war and politics and the activities of society and the armed forces is frequently limited to sociomoral sermonizing. Extensive use is made of the sociological ideas of Comte, Spencer, Tard and



Gumplovich, which are included in the substantiation of various concepts of military-sociological theory (1, 3, 4).

The overwhelming majority of Russian military specialists unconditionally accepted the idea of the above-class nature of tsarism, considering the monarchy the best form of governmental structure in waging war. The significance of the people's masses was ignored and the role of the individual was exaggerated. However, we must also note positive features such as, for example, the development of the idea that general social trends have priority over processes which take place within army formations. Efforts were also made to collect empirical data on the state of the troops and the nature of the country's human reserves. To a certain extent all of this led some military sociologists to take the positions of spontaneous materialism. Typical of the latter is the aspiration to study the dependence of military power on the level of the economic development of the state. The opinion was expressed that the excessive cost of waging war could lead to unpredictable social consequences (2, 6). This view, therefore, is both old and contemporary.

By the end of the 19th century the need to develop military sociology as a separate discipline, combining social with military science and "studying social phenomena from the military viewpoint" was realized (2, p 66). The works of the most noted representatives of the Russian military-sociological school proved that their authors made extensive use of methods, such as the study of documents, observations, experimentations and study of foreign experience (7, 8).

By the beginning of the 1890s military sociologists consolidated their views in two basic areas. The first (let us call it "academic") rallied essentially specialists who held high positions in the then military hierarchy. The most noted supporters of this trend included G.A. Leyer (1829-1904), M.I. Dragomirov (1835-1905), P.A. Geysman (1853-1919) and A.K. Bayov (1871-1935). They favored subordinating sociology to the ideological objectives of autocracy. They were opposed on many essential problems by the "democratic" trend, which included D.F. Maslovskiy (1848-1894), A.Z. Myshlayevskiy (1856-1920) and N.P. Mikhnevich (1849-1927).

For a long time the "academic" trend was headed by G.A. Leyer, who contributed an exceptionally great deal to the development of Russian military science in general and military sociology in particular. Nevertheless, the rational content of his studies clashes with their ideological orientation, particularly with the claim that the strongest levers in the Russian army are religion and "love of tsar to the point of worship."

As professor at the General Staff Academy and, subsequently, its chief, G.A. Leyer set the tone in military theory for 2 consecutive decades. He first became noted as a major philosopher in the middle of the 1860s through his publications in VOYENNIY SBORNIK. G.A. Leyer greatly contributed to surmounting the superficial attitude toward military science as a collection of instructive examples. He was able to develop a sufficiently streamlined theory of military art. His sociological views were focused on the conclusion that "the army, like any other institution in the state, is, at any given

time, the live reflection...of the society from which it stems" (9, p 12). He put great store in specific sociological studies with the help of which one could quite accurately "determine the level of power of a certain country at a certain time" (ibid, p 22). Like the other supporters of the "academic" trend, in terms of his philosophical and military-sociological views G.A. Leyer was a positivist. In particular, he considered that the main task of science was to identify and explain the "eternal and permanent truths" and laws of military affairs.

The representatives of the democratic trend made themselves known precisely during the epoch of imperialism which, having aggravated social and intergovernmental contradictions to the extreme, led to the appearance of multi-million strong armed forces. N.P. Mikhnevich was one of the most noted researchers with a democratic orientation. He substantiated the expediency of institutionalizing military sociology as a separate scientific discipline by citing the exceptional complexity of social phenomena compared with "phenomena of a physical nature." In "Strategy," his main work, he wrote: "Sociology studies the structure and development of human society, first as socially static and second as socially dynamic.... Military science, which studies war as a phenomenon in the life of human society, is one of the departments of dynamic sociology" (3, vol 1, pp 6-9).

N.A. Korf, a Russian army officer, was the most consistent supporter of developing military sociology as a separate social science. It would be only fair to emphasize that it was precisely he who clearly formulated and substantiated this idea in his "Studies on the Philosophy of Military Sciences," which was published in 1897 (2, p 66). He considered as the main task of the new scientific discipline "the study of social phenomena from the military viewpoint" (ibid). Incidentally, said "studies" convincingly prove the priority which domestic military-sociological thinking had gained in formulating the question of the independent status of military sociology. What enhances the importance of this is the fact that today some Western scientists are trying to link the birth of military sociology to the activities of M. Yanovits.

N.A. Korf, who made a thorough study of the theory and practice of the arms struggle, concluded that the condition of military science in his time was unsatisfactory. He saw the reasons for this in the insufficient scientific substantiation of military science itself as well as "the conclusions which are being made within it, the fact that social sciences were ignored and the lack of any kind of element which would combine the individual sciences together" (2, p 24). He concluded that such omissions inevitably lead to gross errors in tactics and strategy and create a distorted concept of military leadership in the actual development of military processes. The first condition for the development of military knowledge, the scientist pointed out later, is to surmount the gap between military and social sciences, for "it is much more logical to begin with more general truths applicable to man in general and only then to undertake the study of man from the specific military viewpoint" (ibid, p 18). In addition to profoundly considered concepts, which anticipate future theoretical elaborations, and a daring penetration into the essence of social processes (for example, he pointed out the connection between war and the "worker problem" (2, p 66)),

Korf's works also include a great deal of methodological confusions and errors. Here is one of them: like many representatives of evolutionism, he tended to consider, contrary to the materialistic concept of social determinism, the development of the individual and social consciousness as independent of social practice. The groundlessness of such a conceptual view is obvious.

Ideas on the subject of general and military sociology, considered both in the "broad" and "narrow" meaning of the term, play an important role in this scientist's system of views. He considered that, in the first meaning of the term, sociology should be considered as the combination of all social sciences and, at the same time, as a general introduction to them (the question of the subject of military sociology remains debatable to this day. In our view, this applies to the military organization of society as a social institution, viewed in a state of close interrelationship with society as a whole). Sociology, N.A. Korf emphasized, should be a "synthetic science of society, related to the individual social sciences in the same way that biology is related to individual sciences dealing with individual organic phenomena. Since its objective is to combine the most general results of the individual social sciences (political economy, politics, law, ethics, etc.), it could be considered as the philosophy of these sciences" (2, p 59).

In concretizing his understanding of sociology, Korf cites the classification of social phenomena as a subject of sociological research: "1. Economic phenomena, such as production, consumption and trade; 2. Genetic phenomena, such as family, marriage, love; 3. Phenomena related to the arts: fine arts, crafts; 4. Phenomena relative to beliefs, such as positive, metaphysical and religious; 5. Spiritual phenomena, such as morality, customs and mores; 6. Legal phenomena, such as domestic and foreign policy" (2, p 60).

As to the scientist's views on sociology in the "narrow" meaning of the term, they were borrowed from the works of L. Gumplovich. Although Korf made substantial corrections to the definitions he borrowed, he remained entrapped by the mechanical mixture of materialism with reductionism, which was inherent in social Darwinism. In particular, Korf considered the dynamics of social groups, achieved on the basis of an open struggle among them, as the subject of sociology.

Today many parts of the work of this scientist bring a smile. However, the contemporary student of the history of sociological ideas cannot ignore Korf's works.

The methodical support of the research conducted by Russian military sociologists was frequently almost impeccable for its time. Studies were conducted strictly in accordance with a program in which scientific tasks were clearly formulated, a research procedure established and indications to interviewers given. The anonymity of answers was observed strictly and the possibility of respondents to communicate with each other, excluded. Efforts were made to design measurement scales with graded research features. Thus, three choices were offered for the closed question (for the experts) of "attitude toward military service:" loves the service; is indifferent to it; scorns it (7, p 6). The following choices were available in answering the

question of "attitude toward your word of honor:" impeccable, thoughtless, or does not keep it (ibid).

Naturally, military sociology was by no means able to provide the type of information which would justify the expectations of autocracy. The unanimous opinion which resulted from a survey of officers on the reasons for Russia's defeat in the war against Japan was the following: the war was unpopular and this was the main reason for the defeat (8, p 113). Without suspecting it themselves, the military sociologists had thus noted the first symptoms of the approaching storm.

In presenting the overall assessment of the development of domestic military sociology in the pre-October revolution period, let us note the conflicting nature of this process. The efforts to apply specific sociological methods in the study of social problems of military activities were significantly limited by the positivistic methodology and class views held by tsarist army officers. Despite conservative and protective trends in the interpretation of empirical data, the military-sociological concepts, those of the representatives of the progressive camp in particular, include scientifically positive ideas and conclusions. As a whole, we can speak of the shaping of a clearly manifested sociological tradition in domestic military thinking, the critical study of the achievements of which played a positive role in the development of Marxist science.

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## IN AID TO THE PLANT'S SOCIOLOGIST

### UNIVERSAL SOCIOLOGICAL INFORMATION ANALYZER

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 114-118

[Article by Valeriy Petrovich Stanilevich, head of a group for psychophysiological and sociological research at the Sverdlovsk department of the Moscow Engineering and Physical Institute; Yuriy Vasilevich Fedotov, senior engineer at the same institute. Co-authors of the article "Portable Instrument for Gathering and Initial Processing of Social Information" (No 1, 1983); and Sergey Valentinovich Fedorov, senior engineer at the "Elektrokhimpribor" combine in Sverdlovsk. This is his first article in our journal]

[Text] The great importance of providing sociologists with organizational equipment for research activities is self-evident. The gathering and initial processing of sociological information and translating the original data into analytical tables is very labor-intensive. Meanwhile, under conditions of intensification of research work, the demands for efficiency and quality in recording social facts increases sharply. This hastens the process of their comprehensive interpretation and the development of practical recommendations and management decisions. However, the technical equipment for sociological work leaves much to be desired. To this day not a single approach to designing instruments for sociological research has been adopted. Not a single such instrument is being serially produced. We note this fact solely for clarity, since shortages in instrument making would be a topic of a separate article.

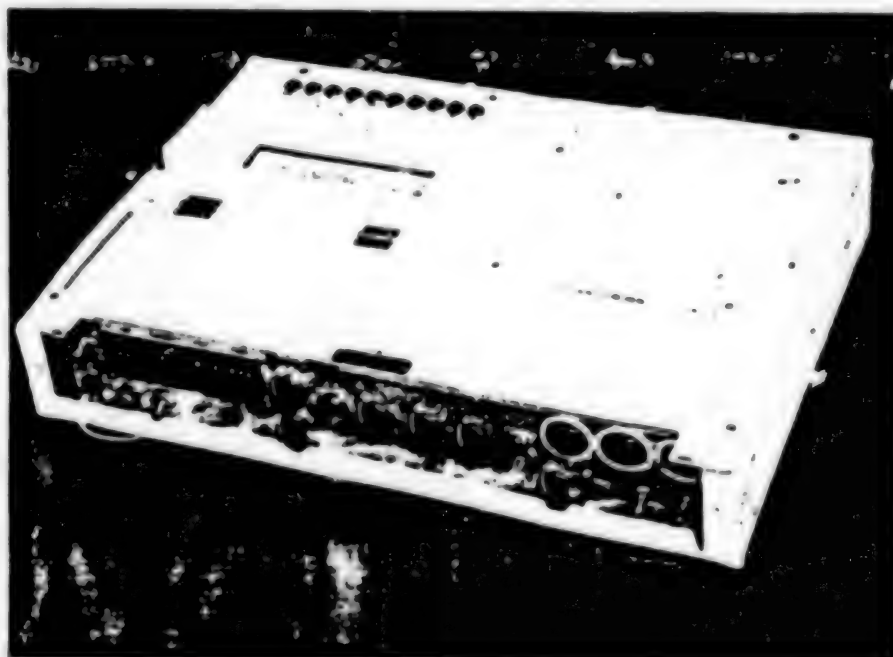
There is more. Our last publication in SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA (No 1, 1983, pp 153-155) concerning a portable device for the gathering and initial processing of social data gave rise to dozens of letters from readers. Essentially, they asked: where can we acquire the instrument described? We answer: it is impossible to acquire the instrument; after all, we are the developers, not manufacturers, not to say vendors. It is possible to construct the instrument oneself (with the facilities of many modern enterprises), since almost all of its parts are produced domestically.

Today we wish to acquaint readers with the basic features of a fundamentally different instrument which we have developed — a universal sociological data

analyzer. It was recognized as an invention and is protected with an authorship certificate.

It is noteworthy that this instrument is also simple to manufacture, since most of its components and parts are standard and are serially produced. Several portable instruments can be made on the basis of the analyzer: universal and dedicated devices which carry out only one function in gathering data and transmitting them directly to a computer. A further improvement of the analyzer would be increasing the memory size and consequently expanding the possibilities of using such instruments in sociological research.

The analyzer, which we have named the "ASH-1M", is related to a number of portable instruments (fig. 1). We know that all similar types of equipment currently being used in sociological research either do or do not take the answers to the questions into consideration, but do not correlate the question answers with the respondents' sociodemographic characteristics. They do not break down the resulting information by category. The instrument which we propose has none of these shortcomings. Use of the analyzer significantly reduces the labor-intensiveness of gathering and processing data and shortens survey time. Savings in a survey of 1,000 respondents and 40-50 questions total roughly 8,000 rubles.



In the photograph: universal sociological data analyzer. See the basic diagram of the instrument on the following page.

Technical characteristics and design features of the instrument. The sociological universal analyzer is rectangular. Its dimensions are: 500 x 350 x 110 mm. It weighs 9.6 kg. The instrument operates on regular 220 V, 50 Hertz AC. The required power does not exceed 25 watts.

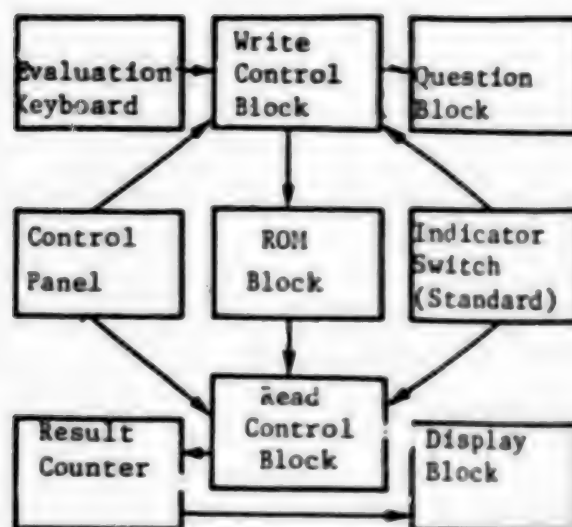


Figure 2 shows the structural diagram of the instrument. The arrangement of the analyzer's basic units and of the respondent's and researcher's panels is oriented towards efficient gathering and retrieval of summarized information.

The respondent's work area is placed on the front panel. It includes a place for instructions, a view window (145 x 35 mm), information input buttons (evaluations of individual opinion and observation indicators) and "pockets" for storing the blank and completed forms. If necessary, the instructions and the "pocket" can be separate from the instrument. If the rating scale, answer choices or values of the input indicator are changed, the unnecessary buttons are deactivated.

Multiposition switches are placed on the back panel for setting up the following indicators: total number of questions, observation indicators and respondents, sequential numbers of the individual questions, observation indicators and their variants (evaluations, variable meanings), sociodemographic features, output of the number of respondents, the sum total of the rating points for each question, indicators or variants of two questions and variable meanings of two indicators. There are also toggle switches: "network", "information storage", "write-read", "on-off", etc.

The instrument automatically controls switching into the "record information" mode and setting of the respondents' coded sociodemographic features, using a feedback system. If everything is done correctly and the instrument works without errors, the sequential number of the respondent or the document being processed is illuminated on the numerical indicators. After information input is completed, the indicator shows the overall number of respondents, the number who answered the questions, the number who were included in the survey, or the number of documents analyzed.

A tape drive is used to present the questions to the respondents. The questions are placed in the instrument's view window. Entry of an answer serves as a signal to automatically switch on the tape drive and display the



next question. After the last question is answered, the tape is automatically returned to its original position and the first question is placed in the view window.

The instrument's memory is implemented by 8 K537RU-2 integrated microcircuits. Fifty K155 series integrated microcircuits are used for input, output and data processing. The memory microcircuits use a self-contained power supply.

Using a portable tape puncher, information from the instrument can be punched out on eight-track paper tape, with sociodemographic indices or other features of the researched set recorded separately. It is possible to input the information to a computer from the punched tape or back into the instrument's memory, using a photocounting device.

Possibilities of the ASM-1M instrument. The analyzer solves diverse research problems. With its help, social information is recorded under field conditions; as it is entered into the instrument, the data are accumulated and summarized according to one or another program. The quantitative and qualitative information indices are measured; the latter is designed in accordance with the nature of the studied object.

The instrument records the respondents' opinions ("bad -- unspecified -- good") according to a seven point scale. Any evaluation scale could be used in this range. One of eight standard situations is chosen in an answer to a question. A system of polar "yes-no" ratings is provided for, and if the respondent finds it difficult to answer a given question for some reason or other, the rating is "0". Information is entered into the instrument with consideration of 16 sociodemographic indicators which reflect 5 personality features of the respondents (2 features in 2 indicators, 3 features in 4 indicators).

Working in continuous or discontinuous modes, the instrument records and stores information from 99 respondents who have answered 99 questions (when each question has eight choices). Depending on the number of questions presented, the instrument can survey up to 250 respondents within 8 hours; the information is shown and summarized according to separate groups of respondents, each one of which may include as many as 100 persons.

Basic information-gathering procedures. Before beginning a survey, the sociologist turns on the instrument, tunes it up for 2-3 seconds for receiving information and sets the sociodemographic indicators of the respondent on the personal characteristics switches. For example, sex -- male, age -- under 20, length of service in profession -- under 3 years, skill -- third class, payment -- wage. By means of corresponding switchings it is possible to obtain 1,121 combinations from such indicators.

Having become acquainted with the instructions for operating the instrument, the respondent answers the questions. To answer, he presses one of the ten buttons for social evaluation (individual opinion ratings, in our example) situated on the instrument's top panel. Only a single-meaning answer is possible for each question. No multiple answers are possible. If necessary, the variants of answers to similar questions appear as independent questions.

For example, in place of one question: "What labor organization shortcomings can you observe at your job?", with a choice of several answers, a series of questions about labor organization in the collective, such as planning, wages, quality of leadership, etc., are presented to the respondent.

The instrument enables one to pose open questions, which stipulate a written answer. The respondent fills in a blank and drops it into the instrument's special "pocket". A written answer is copied by pressing the "0" button, after which the instrument continues to work in the assigned mode.

Our experience in conducting surveys using the device shows that respondents answer the analyzer's questions more willingly than a typical questionnaire. Evidently, this is explained by the fact that people directly observe how an individual evaluation is converted by the device into a generalized opinion of the group. Since the sociologist, having adjusted the device to receive information, virtually does not interfere with the respondent's actions, the latter loses his constraint and wariness. At the same time, information gathering by the device does not exclude additional conversation between sociologist and respondent.

For example: in a study of the work and moral and political quality of brigade leaders at a Sverdlovsk enterprise, both an anonymous questionnaire and the "ASM-1M" were used with 45 identical questions; 78.9 percent of those surveyed preferred the instrument and 12.4 percent, the questionnaire.

If a survey of respondents is conducted over a long period of time, the instrument is periodically turned off. However, the accumulated data is stored within it, thanks to its self-contained power supply. Later, the instrument is turned on, the "record" work mode is set and new information is entered. Subsequently, the sociologist switches the analyzer from the "record" mode to the "information reading" mode, sets the number of respondents, the number of questions given, the sequential number of questions and their choices, and if necessary, also the sequential number of a second question and its choices, with the switches.

The resulting information appears on the numerical indicators according to the individual questions, answer choice, point ratings, and sociodemographic indicators. The instrument outputs generalized breakdowns of the gathered data among the program's questions and the answer variants (point ratings), differentiated according to the respondents' sociodemographic indicators. If the individual opinion of the respondents is entered into the device as point ratings, then, according to each analyzed parameter, the sum of the points and the number of respondents who evaluated this parameter is derived, which enables one to calculate the average point rating per group of respondents. When necessary, it is possible to compute the specific ratings which form the average score.

The results of the survey of respondents are removed from the instrument and entered in tables, which can be one-, two- or multi-dimensional. Tables are used in which information is distributed by the "tree" principle: the sociodemographic indicator of one personal characteristic encompasses the indicators of another, which includes the indicators of a third, etc. More

complex analytical tables can also be used, in which information is distributed according to point ratings, answer choices and relations among the questions, based on the respondents' sociodemographic indicators. No more than 20 minutes are needed for the sociologist to extract the data from the machine and fill in an analytical table.

The analyzer is used not exclusively as a mechanical interviewer; it is used in research as a special technical device capable of centrally processing digitally coded social information from survey blanks, forms, questionnaires, etc. Input to the device of data from a survey consisting of 40 questions which have 8 answer choices takes an average of 2 minutes. In other words, the instrument functions as a portable specialized computer center, the difference being that, whereas it is necessary to draw up a program for encoding the documents being processed, input of data being analyzed and output of final data for a stationary computer, in the instrument the research program's algorithm is constant; it is built in firmware. Furthermore, machine processing of social information is simpler here and fewer technical personnel are required.

Having collected information from 99 documents containing up to 99 questions, the device outputs the final results. Subsequently, information from the next 99 documents is entered, and so on.

The analyzer has successfully proven its value in visual observation of a group (up to 99 persons); it takes the dynamics and nature of social phenomena and people's individual and group activities into consideration. The procedure for executing work in the device remains unchanged, but the interpretation of input and summation of empirical data differs. Thus, depending on the objects and the observation indicators, the functional designation of individual switches and information I/O buttons is changed.

The methods described here for using the universal analyzer do not cover all its possibilities. The full use of this instrument can be perceived in the course of direct sociological studies.

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## MOBILE SOCIOLOGICAL LABORATORY

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 118-120

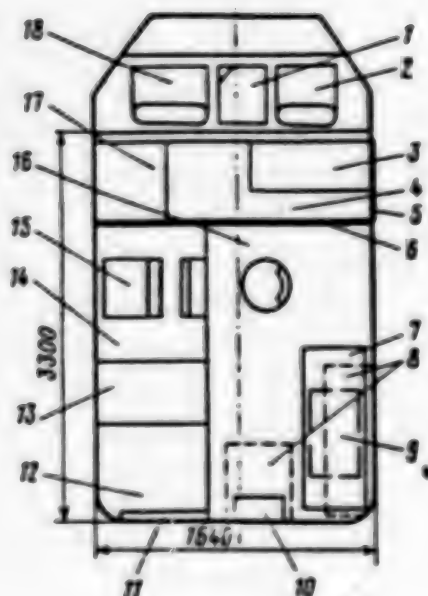
[Article by Yevgeniy Anatolyevich Lunev, senior method worker, Moldavian SSR Ministry of Agriculture, Main Administration for Cadre Training and Training Farms; and Leonid Aleksandrovich Reyngold, aspirant at the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Comprehensive Problems of Machine Building for Animal Husbandry and Feed Production. This is their first article in our journal]

[Text] While participating in the processing of the results of sociological research conducted by the Moscow Agricultural Academy imeni K. A. Timiryazev in 1980-1981, we realized the need to automate the processes of gathering and processing data, based on the modern achievements of microprocessor technology. Furthermore, carrying out research projects in rural areas requires high-mobility technical equipment. Taking these prerequisites into account, we developed a method for organizing research which allows information gathering, processing and storage in local and centralized data bases with minimal sociologists' labor.

The laboratory, equipped with a microcomputer, is in a minibus (figure). Domestic model minibuses RAF-2203 "Latviya", UAZ-452 (increased all-terrain capacity), ErAZ-762, KAVZ-685 and PAZ-672 "Kuban" buses can be used for the purpose. The basic microcomputer units are situated in the cabin, connected to several terminals which operate simultaneously (such as the SM-1800, Proper-8 and Proper-16 produced by Hungary and others): the pedestal of the table with a built-in microcomputer (13), alphanumeric printer (7), perforator, placed beneath the printer (9), video control terminal (15), a panel for connecting video terminals and power cables to the electrical power supply (11). Furthermore, the cabin of the minibus is equipped with auxiliary equipment: a voltage supply regulator (10), a rack for storing the video terminals (17), a shelf for keeping floppy disks, literature, cassettes for the punched tape and blanks (8), tables (12) and (14), and the laboratory assistant's seat (3). The minibus's cabin is divided into three areas: transportation, vestibule and laboratory proper. The transportation compartment consists of the engine (1) and seats for the driver (18) and a passenger (2). The vestibule is separated from the work compartment (16) by a folding partition made of acrylic plastic (6), which is needed to protect the



equipment for temperature fluctuations when the doors (5) are opened during cold weather.



Eight video terminals can be connected to the SM-1800 computer, seven of which are used for the survey and one for operating technical devices and the microcomputer software. If a significant number of respondents must be surveyed with a relatively small questionnaire, the laboratory is equipped with panels for alternative answer input.

The staff of the mobile laboratory consists of a driver, a computer maintenance technician and a sociologist. Skills can be combined.

Thanks to rapidly removable mountings, the computer and minibus can be used separately. Re-equipment of the minibus and installation of the SM-1800 computer within the premise takes 2-4 hours.

One of the programming languages which allows one to easily transport software to another type of microcomputer is used to create applied software (for instance, PL-M, Fortran, C, Ada and Pascal). The peripheral laboratory equipment includes: 1) direct access external memory -- storage on floppy magnetic disks (NGMD) of up to 8 units with 256 kbytes for the SM-1800, or on hard disks (with greater capacity than floppy disks), input/output (or only output) on punched tape for exchanging information with other types of computers, read-out of information into centralized data bases and file storage; 3) displays (up to 8 VTA-2000 units for the SM-1800) which are used for interaction (one is for using the system), and the keyboards of the users' terminals should be in the Russian alphabet; 4) simplified terminals for entry of "yes-no" type answers or selection of alternatives. The question text is

presented to the respondent in printed form, as slides, or is read aloud by the researcher. There can be up to thirty such terminals.

Use of a microcomputer requires the creation of defined operating conditions. Thus, for example, the SM-1800 requires a temperature of  $20 \pm 5$  degrees C, humidity within the  $65 \pm 15$  percent range (an electric heater and air conditioner are presumed) and pressure from 84 to 107 kPa. Furthermore, an antistatic floor covering is necessary. Operation of the computer is carried out when the engine is shut off in order to limit vibration. The possibility of connecting to a single-phase 220 and 127 Volt grid and triple-phase 220/380 Volt grid with 7-10 kWatt power (about 3 kWatts for the microcomputer, the rest for heating, lighting, air conditioning, etc.) should be considered.

Improvement of microcomputer designs in the near future will allow us to make the requirements listed above more flexible.

Questions relating to the organization of research take on particular significance when using the mobile sociological laboratory. In order to ensure efficiency and optimal use of the hardware, covering the following stages of sociological research is recommended.

**Research planning:** This includes putting together a program, methods, instrumentation, preparation of the interactive survey system (input of a description of the survey document), the planning of choices and development of a research procedure. **Departure for the site and installation of the laboratory:** the bus is set up near a premise, the displays are carried inside and terminal and power cables are brought to the bus. **Conducting the research:** This involves summoning those to be surveyed according to schedule, consultation during the survey and use of the equipment; it is possible to carry out expanded discussion, depending on the respondents' answers. **Field processing of results:** study of primary materials, preparation of practical recommendations, testing of hypotheses proposed in the research program, the formation of a data base on auxiliary NCMD's. The extent to which current data may be processed will increase according to the growth in internal memory and computing capabilities of microcomputers, as well as according to the improvement and development of software. **Transmission of information to a data bank on punched tape or via telephone cable, using a modem (an interface).** **Integrated processing of results in the data base:** combined processing, analysis, transmission to a file. **Obtaining conclusions and practical recommendations from the research results.**

The development of methodological problems related to the use of machines to carry out interaction with the respondent has major significance in the process of using the mobile sociological laboratory. The use of technical equipment, evidently, will turn out to have considerable influence on the respondents' behavior which may lead to distortion of information. Revealing the specific nature of interaction in research where such technical equipment is used is a topical task.

Interaction with a microcomputer in comparison, for example, with printed survey documents has a number of features. 1. The respondent does not see the entire survey at once; it is presented in fragments (most often as

individual questions) which do not enable him to evaluate the structure and goals of research and formulate a unified response strategy. On the one hand, this represents the data being obtained, but on the other, it can lead to excessive constraint and caution in the answers. 2. It is possible to make anonymous entries of texts using the terminal's keyboard. 3. The respondent could fear secret identification of his name and other data, since the information processing methods are unclear to him. This aspect must be specially explained in the introductory text and comments on the questions. 4. It is possible to formulate the questions less concisely and supplement them with comments, since the text exists in a single file and its size is virtually unlimited. 5. The possibility of implementing extensive interaction, enabling one to specify questions, specify their content, enter evaluation judgments, researcher's remarks, etc., i.e. interaction with the machine can be intensified and specified to a significant degree through corresponding design of the survey document. 6. The respondent must have simple skills for working with a terminal, particularly when using the keyboard. The absence of such skills in a number of cases can cause difficulties. The latter can be reduced by giving precisely defined texts on the display screen and correcting frequently encountered errors.

Note that the area of use of a mobile sociological laboratory has certain limitations. Its effectiveness range is limited and depends on the number of respondents. Efficiency decreases if frequent trips are made from site to site within one population point, since the time to pack up and install the laboratory increases. The number of people surveyed on a 1 kilometer run of the automobile can serve as an indicator typifying the efficiency of using the laboratory. The higher it is (for a given type of research and size of survey document), the more efficiently technical equipment is used.

The cost of the laboratory, manufactured under nonindustrial conditions, does not exceed 60-70 thousand rubles. The basic outlays are earmarked for acquiring the minibus (up to 5,000 rubles), the microcomputer (30-40 thousand rubles) and software (single expenditures of 10-15 thousand rubles), as well as assembly, adjustment and mastery of equipment. However, the lack of manual operations, the reduction of personnel participating in research and the efficiency of processing the results all make the laboratory rapidly pay for itself. In addition, we are starting out now with the technical parameters of equipment already available. New microcomputer models will enable us to make the mobile sociological laboratory even more efficient. In our opinion, in time it will become the basic means for conducting efficient studies.

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**CADRE TURNOVER CONTROL AT KAMAZ ENTERPRISES**

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 127-130

[Article by Andrey Kirillovich Zaytsev, candidate of philosophical sciences, deputy personnel director at the Motordetal Plant (Kostroma). Author of the following monographs: "Planirovaniye Sotsialnogo Razvitiya Kollektiva" [Planning the Social Development of the Collective] (1976); "Sotsialnoye Razvitiye Proizvodstva" [Social Development of Production] (1978, co-authored); "Sotsiologicheskaya Sluzhba Proizvodstvennogo Obyedineniya" [The Sociological Service of the Production Association] (1982) and others. Author of the following articles published in our journal: "Problems of Plant Sociology" (No 3, 1977, co-authored) and "From the Experience of the KAMAZ Sociological Service" (No 3, 1984, co-authored). For a number of years A.K. Zaytsev headed the KAMAZ Social Planning and Development Department, where he conducted a number of studies the results of which are analyzed in this article]

[Text] Despite a certain drop in the cadre turnover coefficient, the stabilization of labor collectives remains a rather crucial problem at the KAMAZ. This particularly applies to new production facilities which are staffed mainly by volunteers. Sociological studies have shown the increasingly complex reasons for worker resignations. The sociologists at the association have singled out more than 80 reasons for which workers leave the enterprise; not a single collective (there are almost 60 collectives at the KAMAZ!) has provided the same set of reasons. However, in trying to find a practical solution to this complex problem of social management of the contemporary labor collective, managers frequently rely exclusively on experience, intuition and existing traditions.

In recent years the idea of the social management of labor collectives has been linked increasingly to the concept of "social technology." The technological principle of breaking down each production process into its structural elements is being extended to social management. "Social technology is an important aspect of the management mechanism, for it is a means of translating objective laws into the language of social practice, the practice of social management. This is a translation from the abstract language of science, reflecting the objective laws of social development, to the specific language of decisions, standards and regulations which control



and stimulate people and specific individuals to achieve the best possible implementation of objectives" (1).

Usually, "social technology" is presented as special organizational procedures, including those related to cadre management. We know that cadre turnover is an integral indicator of the level of instability of the labor collective and depends on the sum total of the other socioeconomic factors. That is why a positive influence here can be exerted in two ways: first, by organizing the activities of the collective in harmony with its technical, economic-organizational, social and other aspects; second, by resolving the personal problems of the people. A combination of these methods must be applied in practical activities.

As a rule, the many publications on problems of cadre turnover essentially emphasize the specific-cognitive process and the formulation of recommendations consistent with surveys of resigning workers. What is ignored in this case is that the problems of resigning workers should not be extended to the entire collective. People who are dissatisfied leave, taking their concerns with themselves, concerns which are not consistent with those of the stable part of the collective. Thus, about 70 percent of those who quit are people who have worked for under than 3 years and have not become settled at the enterprise. Workers who are dismissed on the initiative of the administration essentially belong to the same type of novices: in our estimates, they account for three-quarters of discipline violations. Therefore, we must not trust the data obtained in the course of the investigation without their thorough examination. It is even less admissible to be guided by the improperly interpreted breakdown of answers in formulating the social policy of the collective.

In the course of the KamAZ study we saw that personal reasons were the most frequently cited for resigning (40 percent): illness of close relatives, need to move elsewhere, etc. A deeper sociological study indicated that the workers intending to leave the collective would select the most convenient reason which would expedite as rapidly as possible the resignation documents. In reality, personal reasons applied to no more than 10 percent of the respondents.

We proceeded in our study from the fact the turnover can be controlled. However, this takes more than merely determining the reasons for quitting. One must be entirely familiar with the deeper phenomena which, in the final account, make the people quit. Unless a person is a notorious "rolling stone" (previous studies indicated that such people accounted for 2 percent of the total), he finds it difficult to break his ties with the collective and should the plant services come to his help at the critical moment, the situation may develop entirely differently. We estimated that, as a rule, a foreman or a shop chief investigating a resignation request spends between 3 and 5 minutes to discuss it with the worker. How much could be learned, not to say decided, within that time? The studies lead to the assumption that a significant percentage of those who quit would like to have their problems resolved without having to leave the collective. In our view, the main task of the enterprise is not to determine the reasons for quitting but to take steps to retain the individual workers and resolve their individual difficulties.

In speaking of the efficiency with which the cadres stabilization process is managed, let us draw attention to several problems. Above all, a certain "instability" exists, i.e., a tendency to migrate prevails among a considerable percentage of workers in new cities or labor collectives. Thus, according to data provided by Ufa sociologists, in 1976 17.1 percent of 6,000 surveyed workers wanted to change jobs immediately; 46.3 percent hesitated; 34.6 percent were unwilling to do so, and 2 percent were forced to change jobs for health reasons. The breakdown of answers by socioprofessional affiliation revealed that the highest number of respondents who were uncertain as to their plans were unskilled or underskilled workers. Therefore, the main attention must be focused precisely on these groups in controlling turnover.

As indicated by the survey conducted at the KamAZ Repair Instruments Plant (RIZ), satisfaction with the work also depends on the rate-skill grade of the worker: the higher the grade the better he is satisfied with his position. Some enterprises tried to resolve the problem by concluding term labor contracts. This method, however, proved ineffective: thus, in 1978 380 of the 2,276 workers who had signed such contracts at the KamAZ Motors Plant (15.5 percent) broke them. The study of the reasons for quitting indicated that they were the same as for the KamAZ as a whole. A study made in 1980 at the RIZ enabled us to identify the worker groups with the highest percentage of resignations. It turned out that it was among young people under 18 (39.4 percent) and novices with less than 1 year on the job (31.8 percent).

Turnover intensiveness differentiated by individual production facilities and the causes for differentiation are indicated to a certain extent in the table which follows. The summation of the data enabled the sociologists to draft a document regulating the actions of plant and voluntary personnel departments, brigade councils and the shop line personnel in turnover prevention. It turned out that up to 60 percent of the reasons for leaving could be settled on the shop level and up to 80 percent on the level of the plant. Furthermore, a special procedure entitled "Work with Resigning Workers," consisting of a number of steps was drafted. The first was to ask the resigning worker, after his talk with the personnel department engineer, to fill a form entitled "Resignation Statement," listing the reasons for resigning and providing a minimum personal information (extent of seniority, party affiliation, wages, housing conditions, family). After his talk with the personnel department, the resigning worker mandatorily meets with the brigade council and the shop's management. This is the second step in the resignation study. The third applies to means of preparing materials for the meeting of the voluntary personnel department by the sociologists: determining the precise reasons for the worker's resignation is a key procedure, for up to 40 percent of the reasons initially listed in the request turn out to be fictitious. It is entirely obvious that the lack of accurate information leads to incorrect decisions and ineffective practical results. The fourth step is the meeting held by the voluntary personnel department. Here previous decisions are considered along with the materials prepared by the sociologists and the conversations between the resigning worker and his superiors. The duties of the voluntary personnel department includes drafting recommendations for officials directly involved in decision making. The fifth step is the traditional processing of the requests unless the resignation has been stopped within the stipulated period of time. The final step is for the

personnel department inspector to submit on a daily basis to the computer center the list of resigned workers and, on a monthly basis, the list of workers who have withdrawn their resignation request. It is on the basis of such data that the sociologists submit to the management their quarterly information bulletin "Analysis of Reasons for Turnover."

This type of efficient procedure ensures not only greater data reliability but also creates possibilities of organizing preventive measures. It is true that success in this matter is greatly determined by the attitude of managers of all levels to new suggestions. Quite frequently the sociologists encounter a type of psychological barrier: the manager not only remains idle but also actively opposes novelties, considering them useless and, furthermore, harmful. Surmounting such delusions is no simple matter.

#### Reasons for KamAZ Worker Resignations in 1979-1980, %

Reasons related to	Plant				Outfitting	Vehicle Assembly
	Motors	Casting	Frames	Repair-Instruments		
Professional-skill status	17.5	18.0	7.2	15.4	9.1	12.7
Labor discipline violations	12.2	0.4	13.4	8.0	9.1	9.1
Material living conditions	11.3	37.5	6.6	6.0	9.1	15.2
Wages	5.9	11.5	4.2	6.0	3.0	9.1
Labor conditions	2.5	24.5	5.4	3.3	4.4	12.7
Sociopsychological climate	0.4	3.7	0.3	0.3	6.8	4.5
Labor organization	0.4	4.0	6.2	6.3	0.9	4.4
Personal reasons	29.7	0.3	40.2	40.9	39.9	25.1
Other	20.1	0.1	16.5	15.8	17.7	7.2

In suggesting clearly regulated procedures, let us caution against ignoring specific conditions or the individual characteristics of people, in order to prevent such steps from developing into formal acts and turning into a "Procrustian bed" in which any situation should fit.

How effective are these measures? In the first 3 months that these procedures were applied at the Motordetal Plant in Kostroma, cadre turnover was reduced by 20 percent. The system of administrative-preventive actions we suggested yielded significant practical results at the repair-instruments KamAZ plant. The most effective were the following: transfer to another job (shop, brigade) accounted for 31.4 percent of all prevented resignations; wage increases, 15.1 percent; improvements in housing conditions, 13.1 percent; improvements in working conditions, 4.3 percent; other steps, 4 percent. Interestingly enough, 20 percent of the withdrawn resignation requests (21.7 percent) were based on the lack of information on the part of the worker and a simple talk proved to be sufficient to solve the case. The use of such a method for controlling cadre dynamics at the KamAZ plants (since 1977) was one of the factors which lowered turnover by more than one-third.

Therefore, it is possible to formulate the main tasks implemented by the sociological service in controlling cadre turnover at an enterprise. Above

all, it provides accurate information on reasons for the turnover, designs a procedure for controlling this process and, finally, drafts recommendations to prevent resignations and to control their implementation. The simplicity of this technique makes it applicable even by sociologists with low professional standards, ensuring a virtually immediate and visible results. In the course of this entire work the sociological service steadily gains experience, sums up information and, eventually, is able to undertake a solution of more complex problems, such as social planning.

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## SOCIAL PROBLEMS IN FOREIGN COUNTRIES

### NATIONAL-VIET BILINGUALISM IN VIETNAM

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 131-136

[Article by Mikhail Nikolayevich Guboglo, Dr of historical sciences and senior scientific associate, USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography. Author of the books "Razvitiye Dvuyazychiya v Moldavskoy SSR" [Development of Bilingualism in the Moldavian SSR] (1979) and "Sovremennyye Etnoyazykovyye Protsessy v SSSR" [Contemporary Ethnolinguistic Processes in the USSR] (1984). This is his first article in our journal. The present article was based on materials from sociological studies conducted in the SRV by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Ethnography together with the SRV Committee for Social Sciences Ethnography Institute, in 1980-1983. A total of 2,500 people belonging to the Tai, Thai, Muong, Nung and Chin (Viet) ethnic groups in 27 communities of six North Vietnam districts were surveyed. The study was headed by M.N. Guboglo. The selection was developed by V.S. Kondratyev and the results processed with a computer by A.D. Korostelev. Furthermore, data of the Vietnam population census (1979) and departmental statistics were used]

[Text] The natural and historically inevitable process of the adoption by small nations and ethnic groups of Southeast Asia of the language of their more numerous neighbors has frequently been mentioned in published works (2-3). Vietnam is not an exception in this respect. Here we find many examples of the appearance of bilingualism in the course of the joint struggle waged by the Viet and the members of national minorities against foreign conquerors and local feudal lords.

The 1970s were saturated with important events in Vietnam's social life. The materials of the 5th CPV Congress aptly characterized this period: "These were years of restoration, reorganization and development of the economy and the transformation and development of culture" (1). Substantial changes also occurred in the linguistic area, above all in the dissemination of the Vietnamese language among national minorities.

The general trend in the contemporary development of ethnolinguistic processes in Vietnam's northern provinces is one of systematic expansion of the functional interaction among the native languages of national minorities with the Viet language (language of the Viet (Chin), the main nationality in the SRV), which performs the function of a language for international

communications over the entire SRV territory. The expansion of such interaction takes place naturally, on a voluntary basis. The process is based, first of all, on the objective need of the more than 50 ethnic groups in the country, including more than 5 million non-Viet (4) to share a single language for mass communication purposes and, secondly, the process of free development of native languages by the small peoples. Although adopting the Viet language, the national minorities in the SRV, which account for 12.4 percent of the country's population, also consider the language of their ethnic group as their native language. Although 94 percent of the Tai, 93 percent of the Muong, 88 percent of the Nung and 72 percent of the Thai are fluent in a second and, in some cases, a third language, the majority, including 93 percent of the Tai, 98 percent of the Muong, 93 percent of the Nung and 99 percent of the Thai consider the language of their ethnic group as their native language. These data, which characterize the contemporary ethnolinguistic processes among the most numerous national minorities in Vietnam (according to the 1979 population census, the SRV included 737,100 Tais, 591,700 Thais, 563,200 Muong and 454,700 Nung (4 p 218)), are of exceptional importance. They indicate the specific boundaries of the dissemination of national-Viet bilingualism noted in publications (5) and allow us to determine the dialectical unity between national and international and specific and common features in the linguistic life of non-Viet peoples.

Table 1. Dissemination of Bilingualism and Multilingualism Among North Vietnamese Ethnic Groups, %

Ethnic Group	Fluent in Languages other than National						Other
	Tai	Nung	Viet	Tai and Nung	Tai and Viet	Nung and Viet	
Tai	-	3.1	79.5	-	-	10.8	-
Nung	1.7	-	61.4	-	24.6	-	-
Viet (Chin)	9.5	1.5	-	0.9	-	-	1.9

Table 2. Dissemination of Bilingualism and Multilingualism Among Muong and Thai, %

Ethnic Group	Fluency in Languages other than National				
	Viet	Viet and Tai	Viet and Muong	Thai	Muong
Muong	83.5	8.7	-	0.8	-
Tai	62.0	0.2	8.3	-	0.4

Table 3. Degree of Fluency of second national language, %

Ethnic Group	Language in Which Most Fluent		
	Of ethnic group	As fluent as ethnic language	Viet More than in ethnic language
Tai	33.8	47.2	19.0
Nung	60.1	31.0	8.9
Muong	76.8	22.6	0.6
Thai	83.6	7.9	8.5

Table 4. Main Factors for the Dissemination of Viet Language Among SRV Ethnic Minorities, %

Ethnic Group	Traditional Method			Fluent in Viet		
	In Family	At Work	In Intercourse	In Armed Forces	At School	At Technical School or VZ
Tai	40.1	24.2	9.1	2.2	50.5	1.8
Thai	12.4	5.1	31.2	1.4	59.5	-
Muong	3.9	5.7	24.5	1.3	73.3	-

Table 5. Level of Education of SRV Ethnic Groups Based on 1979 Population Census, %

Ethnic Group	Literate (Incomplete and Complete Primary, 8th-grade and secondary training)	Total	Illiterate	
			Including Men	Women
Viet	83.7	12.3	8.1	16.1
Non-Viet	57.4	39.6	32.0	46.6
Including:				
Tai	77.3	20.2	14.5	25.5
Thai	62.5	35.5	25.3	44.9
Muong	79.3	17.7	12.9	22.0
Nung	65.6	32.2	23.3	40.6
Total	80.4	15.6	11.1	19.9

\*Table based on (4, pp 218-219; 224-231).

Table 6. Dissemination of Bilingualism and Multilingualism Among National Minorities in North Vietnam Based on Age, %

Ethnic Group	Age	Other than National Language, also Fluent in	
		Viet	Viet and Second Foreign National Language
Tai	29 or under	81.5	91.4
	30 - 49	83.5	90.6
	50 and older	73.6	90.4
Nung	29 or under	65.4	92.4
	30 - 49	60.1	85.4
	50 and older	56.1	77.7
Muong	29 or under	87.9	98.3
	30 - 49	85.4	96.9
	50 and older	76.8	83.4
Thai	29 or under	74.6	82.0
	30 - 49	67.4	79.0
	50 and older	43.9	52.7

According to the 1979 census, these nationalities account for a considerable percentage of the entire non-Viet population in North Vietnam. The ethnolinguistic situation and development of ethnolinguistic processes among national minorities decisively depend on the dissemination of bilingualism and multilingualism precisely among said ethnic groups.

At the beginning of the 1980s the adoption of the Viet language by the individual ethnic groups was almost complete (fluency in a second language means extent of linguistic competence which enables the individual to speak the language and to understand others, to transmit and receive verbal information and to coordinate actions with someone conversing in said language). Ethnosociological studies revealed that 92.2 percent of the Muong, 90.9 percent of the Tai, 86.2 percent of the Mung and 71.1 percent of the Thai entered the 1980s period with some familiarity of the Viet language in addition to their own (see tables 1 and 2).

However, the extensive development of national-Viet bilingualism was not equally successful among all national minorities; quality did not always equate quantity. Actually, about 25 percent of the Thai population was totally unfamiliar with the language of the Viet and only 15 percent of the Thais were as fluent in Viet as in their own national language or more so (table 3). In other words, knowledge of the Viet language remained low among a significant percentage of the non-Viet population. The reasons for this phenomenon become clear if the following factors are taken into consideration:

School influence was a common factor shared by all non-Viet ethnic groups. It was in the schools that the Viet language was disseminated and that national-Viet bilingualism was established. As a whole, it proved to be stronger than the influence of any other individually taken factor and, among the Thai and Muong, even stronger than the combined influence of all other factors (see table 4).

The factors for the dissemination of the Viet language among the non-Viet population may be combined into two groups. Under the influence of the first group of factors, related to interpersonality intercourse, a second language is mastered naturally, a method which can be conventionally described as traditional. A conversational vocabulary is essentially mastered. The second group of factors is related to the special circumstances under which fluency in a second language is developed purposefully. This method of mastery of a second language could be described as contemporary. It became particularly widespread after the August 1945 revolution, since previously no schools existed in the mountainous areas inhabited by national minorities.

The 1979 population census showed that illiteracy had been essentially eliminated among the young and middle minority generations. This is an unquestionable accomplishment of the Vietnamese revolution. Nevertheless, substantial differences remain between the Viet and non-Viet populations in terms of educational standards. Thus, for example, in 1979 the number of illiterate people among the national minorities was triple that of the Viet. The percentage of illiteracy among women, the elderly and the population of remote areas remained particularly high. The results of the study proved that the higher the percentage of the illiterate population was among individuals



of a given ethnic group the lower was the educational standard of women and the more substantial was the gap between the percentage of illiterate men and women (see table 5). This is a reflection of the unfinished cultural revolution under the conditions of a transition to socialism and one of the factors for the low level of fluency in the Viet language.

In its characterization of contemporary ethnolinguistic processes, including the development of national-Viet bilingualism, the party points out that "in some areas, the high-mountain districts in particular, the efforts to disseminate the Viet language are not entirely efficient" (6). Two different viewpoints may be found among Vietnamese social scientists concerning the nature, content and basic trends of interaction between the languages of national minorities and the Viet language (7). According to the first, conditions must be secured for the functional development of non-Viet languages (creation of an alphabet, broadening material and technical facilities, teaching cadres at a faster rate, increasing the publication of textbooks and school aids, increasing the amount of radio and television transmissions, etc.). According to the second, the emphasis must be on the language of international communications, and the exposure of the small ethnic groups to the Viet language must be accelerated immediately, so that, with its help, previously backward ethnic groups may reach a higher degree of development within a short historical time.

Both views are dictated by the aspiration to help national minorities in enhancing their cultural standards and strengthening the international unity of Vietnamese society. In other words, to use the terminology of contemporary Vietnamese literature, it means "for the mountainous areas to catch up with the plain areas" and "for the minority to catch up with the majority," increasing the "cohesion among the peoples." However, we must point out that neither viewpoint takes into consideration the entire variety of actually existing ethnolinguistic processes and the naturally developed scale of bilingualism and, in the final account, the needs of the national minorities themselves. On the one hand, the main area in which the native language is used is family and daily life. At the same time, the participation of national minorities in the expanded building of socialism is inconceivable without their familiarity with the Viet language. Such is the dialectics of the ethnolinguistic situation which has developed in the country.

Vietnam is a country with ancient traditions of varied interethnic contacts, in the course of which both individual and widespread fluency in a different language have taken place. This makes natural not only learning the Viet language by the non-Viet population but also the study of languages of national minorities by people of Viet nationality and the reciprocal mastery of languages of members of national minorities. Naturally, in terms of quantitative and qualitative parameters said trends are substantially weaker than national-Viet bilingualism, which is the general line followed in contemporary ethnolinguistic processes in the country. Thus, for example, 13 percent of the Viet living in Vietnam's northern provinces are fluent in a second language, mainly Tai.

The systematic study of said processes in the mountainous areas of Vietnam is particularly significant. Shaping and developing alongside national-Viet

bilingualism, said varieties confirm the reciprocal nature of bilingual processes and the progressive nature of ethnolinguistic processes as a whole. Along with bilingualism, trilingualism developed among some national minorities in the 1960s and 1970s.

Let us consider in greater detail the dynamic trends characterizing the development of ethnolinguistic processes in the SRV, national-Viet bilingualism above all.

Since data on the native language and fluency in a second foreign national language were not recorded in censuses of the Vietnamese population (1960, 1974, 1979), the development of ethnolinguistic processes by time segment is difficult to reconstruct. The retrospective method may be used to this effect. We begin by dividing the population into age groups (for greater details on the correlation between the breakdown of life periods and age stratification and the generational concept in contemporary social science studies (see 8, 9)), i.e., we consider all individuals in the same age group. Having established the basic features of their current ethnolinguistic aspect (level of linguistic competence, scale of speech activities, linguistic orientations, etc.) and the period of most active socializing, including the productive learning by members of a given generation of another national language, it is possible to gain an idea of the trend of ethnolinguistic processes in the various development stages of the country.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the percentage of people fluent in two languages was particularly high among young people in the 19-29-age group, members of North Vietnam national minorities. Furthermore, in addition to Viet this age group had mastered another national language. Thus, for example, there were 14.7 percent more young Nung compared to members of their senior generation, who could speak two or three languages; respectively, there were 14.9 percent more Muong, and 29.3 percent more Thai (see table 6).

As to the Viet (Chin) the opposite trend was noted here: 15.3 percent of individuals under 30, 12.1 percent in the 30-49-age group and 38.7 percent of the 50 and older age group knew one foreign language. The radical social changes which had taken place, the involvement of tremendous masses in sociopolitical activities and the drastic intensification of contacts among ethnic groups in the course of the joint struggle waged by the national minorities and the Viet population in the rear and at the front, added to many other objective factors, had resulted in the fact that the young generation had almost totally adopted the Viet language.

Therefore, the 1960s-1970s became a major stage in the establishment of national-Viet bilingualism. By the end of the 1970s and beginning of 1980s, all Tai, Muong and Nung young people spoke Vietnamese; this applied to a lesser extent to the young Thai, only 82 percent of whom spoke Viet.

For historical reasons, ethnolinguistic processes in the SRV, including learning the language of another ethnic group, developed unevenly: quite extensively and quickly among the Muong and Tai population and more slowly and on a lesser scale among the Nung and the Thai. Thus, at the beginning of the 1980s, nearly one-third (32.9 percent) more Muong aged 50 or older, spoke

Viet, compared to Thai of the same age group. If we include individuals who, in addition to their own national language, spoke both Viet and another foreign language, there was an even greater disparity; thus, it accounted for 37.7 percent between the Tai and Thai ethnic groups.

The following question arises: when, at what period in the country's history was the process of equalization of the scale of national-Viet bilingualism among national minorities in North Vietnam most intensive?

Let us turn to the ethnolinguistic life of the middle generation of non-Viet peoples, who were between the ages of 30 and 49 at the beginning of the 1980s. This was the generation whose childhood, adolescence, army service and beginning of production activities took place at a crucial time of active struggle waged by the Vietnamese people's masses against the French colonizers and Japanese occupation forces, which ended in 1945 with the establishment of an independent Vietnam. All Vietnamese population strata were energized in the struggle which subsequently developed against foreign aggressors. Democratic reforms, the agrarian reform above all, and the restoration of national culture led into active social efforts the broad masses of non-Viet nationalities. These factors resulted in the fact that the middle generation surmounted the traditional intracommunal and intercommunal isolation and emerged in the broad arena of international contacts. This was reflected in the conversion from age-old monolingualism to bilingualism. A comparison between the degrees of linguistic competence among non-Viet middle and elderly generations would show that in 1981 the percentage of Nung, belonging to the 30-49-age group, who were fluent in two languages exceeded by 14 percent the percentage of older people of the same ethnic groups who spoke two languages (the respective figures were 8.6 percent for the Muong, 10.2 percent for the Tai and 23.5 percent for the Thai). The percentage of the middle-aged individuals who spoke Viet exceeded a similar indicator among the senior generation as follows: by 7.7 percent among the Nung, 13.5 percent among the Muong and 26.3 percent among the Thai.

Therefore, in the very first years after the country gained its independence, a substantial change occurred in the linguistic life of national minorities in North Vietnam: the number of people fluent in Viet exceeded 50 percent.

The mass study of Viet by non-Viet nationalities and the considerable increase in national-Viet bilingualism led to the fact that, naturally, the need for the Viet to learn languages of the national minorities naturally declined. At the beginning of the 1980s, there were nearly three times as many elderly Viet who spoke one of the languages of the small ethnic groups compared with the middle generation.

At the beginning of the 1980s, there were less disparities among the young people of different ethnic groups in terms of knowledge of their own and the Viet language compared to the disparity between young people and members of the senior generation within the same ethnic group. Thus, disparity in the popularity of the Viet language among young Muong and Thai was 12 percent, compared to 29.3 percent between young and adult Thai. In the course of the natural fifth of generations, the scale of national-Viet bilingualism within the entire population of a given ethnic group will systematically increase.



A nationwide national-Viet bilingualism is consistent with both the vital interest of the individual national minorities as well as those of the entire Vietnamese people. The Viet language is also a major spiritual value. Its significance is particularly great considering the poor development of the literary languages of national minorities. The further growth of the political and sociocultural significance of the Viet language is clearly manifested in contemporary ethnolinguistic processes, in the course of which national-Viet bilingualism takes shape.

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## SCIENTIFIC LIFE

### DISCUSSION OF TOPICAL TASKS IN SOCIOLOGICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow, SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 166-168

[Report by V.S. Borovik, A.A. Grachev and N.V. Krylova]

[Text] In our country industrial sociology has earned deserved recognition and has become an independent research area. Need we prove that the main task of the sociologists and psychologists working in the various economic sectors is the practical utilization of scientific achievements? Furthermore, industrial sociology is not simply an intermediary link between "big science" and production. It has its own quite independent targets and functions. This was convincingly confirmed by the results of two important projects conducted by Soviet sociologists and psychologists in the summer of 1985. An all-union practical science conference on "Topical Problems of Development of Sociological Research in Industrial Production" took place in Dnepropetrovsk on 4-5 June; an all-union practical science conference on "Problems of the Sociopsychological Service of the Industrial Enterprise" was held in Kurgan on 11-13 June.

Representatives of party, soviet and economic bodies, trade union organizations, academic and sectorial scientific establishments and VUZ teachers participated in the conferences. The organizers deserve particular credit for being able, for the first time, to gather together the heads of more than 50 sociological and psychological services of leading economic sectors. We shall not include in this report the statements by all the speakers, some of whom are among the country's leading sociologists and psychologists, for the full text of their statements will be published by the USSR AN ISI.

The intensification of socialist construction demands of industrial sociologists and psychologists active participation in resolving problems of scientific and technical updating of the production process, achieving the highest world standards in labor productivity and perfecting social relations. This was emphasized in the statements by V. Boyko, first secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk Obkom, CP of the Ukraine, Academician P.N. Fedoseyev and Dr of Philosophical Sciences D.P. Gribanov.

The speakers noted that enterprise sociological services could do a great deal to help in crossing the most difficult stage in the development of an enterprise—the psychological restructuring of cadres in accordance with the new requirements demanded by contemporary equipment and technology. However, the solution of such problems is impossible without further perfecting the entire system of political and social institutions, the intensification of socialist democracy and self-management on the level of industrial enterprises.

Shortcomings in the activities of plant sociologists were analyzed comprehensively and objectively and so were possibilities of upgrading scientific labor productivity. The critical remarks addressed to scientists at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum were discussed once again thoroughly. Today the party calls for soberly weighing the results achieved in recent years and for self-critically determining the reasons for which occasionally we rely more on slogans and appeals than on the objective study of reality and allow a lag in the most important areas of research, i.e., wherever faster and more successful progress is possible.

The gravest problem is the insufficiently constructive nature of sociological recommendations. Naturally, it is not a question of achieving instant useful results in individual public production areas but of a more consistent orientation of industrial sociology and psychology toward resolving social development problems.

Under the conditions of the conversion of the economy to the track of intensification, which was most obviously confirmed by the large-scale economic experiment, the practical advice of sociologists is particularly urgent. The principles governing the organization of the economic mechanism make the sociological service a production necessity. So far, however, a number of important problems concerning the function and place of the sociological service in enterprise (sectorial) management and its role in scientific production planning remain unresolved. A draft standard regulation on activities has still not been passed by the USSR State Committee for Labor, which substantially limits the dissemination of progressive experience and the implementation of the tasks set at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Practical experience has confirmed that the sociological service at most industrial enterprises consists of one or two people, not all of whom have professional training. Yet it is a question of the social management of large and extralarge labor collectives. The problem of the utilization of the human factor, set at the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum as a priority matter, cannot be efficiently solved without intensified sociological studies and substantiated recommendations. That is why the creation of organizational conditions for the dissemination of the experience of progressive sociological services is an efficient tool for the utilization of the social factor.

Many of the statements promoted the idea that the greatest successes are achieved by a service which employs sociologists, psychologists, economists, educators, jurists and physiologists, working side by side. It is practical rather than theoretical workers who prove that the problem of the human factor

is comprehensive. In this connection, the problem of the name of the service has been repeatedly discussed. Currently, it is resolved most frequently by being called either sociological or psychological. The view was expressed that such an approach does not express the essence of the work and dampens the role of one of these sciences. The name "Enterprise (Sector) Social Development Service" should be viewed as the most acceptable." Considering the increased difficulty of the problems of the new service, there should be no hurry in setting it up where necessary conditions for this are still lacking.

The country's corps of engineers, the study of which must become a subject of particular concern of the sociologists, is a major factor in the acceleration of scientific and technical progress. The adverse situation in this area has been frequently discussed in our press. Sociologists working in industry could do a great deal to correct the situation. They have acquired significant experience in studying motivations for labor, establishing sociopsychological and organizational-economic support of new developments and methods for increasing job satisfaction, etc. We could name programs such as "Your Mood," and "Confidence," used in stabilizing the labor collectives, and many others. It was emphasized that developing methods for the certification of engineering and leading cadres and assessing the need for their retraining, proper placement and means of conversion to a flexible work schedule is an urgent task.

As the speakers noted, another unresolved problem is that of sociological training. Moscow, Leningrad and some other universities are already training students in the various areas. This, however, is insufficient. Clearly, we must accelerate the development of a unified highly efficient sociological training system on a national scale.

One of the main problems discussed at the conferences was the formulation of a uniform concept for the social management of an enterprise. Many drafts have been written on this topic! One of the new ideas is the use of a trilevel social management system, strictly oriented toward meeting the needs and interests of the labor collective. Its authors have also considered practical means for the implementation of their idea. This applies to social technology as a specific type of engineering (or socioengineering) activity.

Various approaches to individual tasks and to providing methodological support for the work of the social service were described at the conferences. Two current strategies became apparent: a. Defining tasks on the basis of the breakdown of situational problems; b. Formulating standard assignments. The first requires a hierarchical arrangement of the problem. Target programs are being drafted to solve priority problems.

The second strategy is based on the classification of social problems, usually encountered in plant sociology practices: increasing job satisfaction, enriching the content of labor, stabilizing the collective, optimizing the psychological climate, and others. As we may see, neither strategy conflicts with the other and they can be pursued within a common social management system. Diagnostic and optimizing management methods may prove to be useful.

A rather interesting trend of shifting the emphasis from vocational selection to vocational consultation and rational reassignment of manpower was noted in the course of the discussion on professional training. Somehow related to this is the circumstance that the administrative aspect clearly dominated the diagnostic aspect in the conference materials. More extensive discussions were held on upgrading work ability and eliminating overall fatigue by applying optimal conditions for work and labor and relaxation systems, social programs for psychological relief and methods for self-control training. As to diagnostic methods, the participants discussed logic as one of the components of mental standards. Linking diagnostic with training methods enables us to organize the training of managers and promote innovation and business and role games.

The conference recommendations offered basic research trends on which academic institutions, ministries, departments and plant sociologists and psychologists should concentrate their efforts.

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## MANAGING URBAN DEVELOPMENT

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[Report by N.K. Zakharova and V.V. Patsiorkovskiy]

[Text] The idea of undertaking an international research project on "Urban Development Management" was born at the Seventh Conference of Mayors of Large Cities of the World, which was held in Italy in 1978. Two years later the project acquired its organizational aspect. Its initiators were the Turin City Council and Turin University Social Policy Department. Currently, representatives of six cities are engaged in the development of this project: Turin (Italy), Glasgow (Great Britain), Koln (FRG), Dresden (GDR), Krakow (Poland) and Tallin (USSR, since 1982). The project was named "TURIN" after the city which initiated it. The Vienna center is in charge of coordinating activities and all arising problems.

The objectives and tasks of this international group of scientists and practical workers could be formulated as follows: strengthening cooperation and intensifying reciprocal understanding between East and West; developing theoretical problems and practical recommendations on the development of large old cities; exchanging information and experience in research, planning and management; drafting joint publications and proposals.

The organizational committee has met nine times since the initiation of the project (once in Tallin) and has held four conferences with the active participation of the Soviet work group. The basic principles of implementation of CPSU and Soviet state social and economic policy regarding the development of a socialist city were explained in the reports and communications submitted by N.M. Rimashevskaya, T.E. Yarve, V.V. Patsiorkovskiy and M.E. Pavelson.

The research program includes seven basic topics: economics of the large city, population structure and dynamics, manpower, local administration, improvement and development problems, etc. However, for practical purposes all topics are being worked upon in full only in Turin, the initiating city. The other participants deal essentially with three to four problems, based on their own interests and objectives. Unlike other projects, the TURIN Vienna Center is not using a uniform research methodology or even a comparative study

of data, although this problem has not been entirely resolved and is periodically discussed at meetings of the organizational committee.

The Soviet work group has studied problems dealing with the sociodemographic structure of the urban population, manpower, way of life, social infrastructure, urban planning and participation of the population in administration.

The nature of a city is determined, above all, by its inhabitants. That is why any activity related to urban change, renovation and management should take into consideration the sociodemographic composition and requirements of the population. The study of the needs of the citizens enables us to identify a number of important socioeconomic problems in labor and way of life, availability of housing, medical treatment and cultural institutions and sports facilities. Improving relations between man and nature is becoming increasingly relevant under the conditions of a modern large city.

Our Western colleagues concentrate on the employment problem. The continuing growth of unemployment is a matter of particular concern. For example, in the Bigger Glasgow area, the number of people with jobs has declined over the past 30 years from 844,000 to 640,000. Whereas there were 2.2 percent unemployed in 1951, there were 15.1 percent in 1981. Substantial changes have also taken place in the population's employment structure. Thus, the share of people in the service industry increased from 37 percent in 1952 to 58 percent in 1981 and is continuing to increase. In Koln the situation in light industry worsened between 1970 and 1982 (more than 50,000 people were laid off). According to forecasts, another 10,000 jobs will be lost by 1990.

The main way of struggle against this social ill inherent in capitalist society is, according to the urban authorities, changes in the production structure, its updating and the proper retraining of cadres for work in contemporary industrial and service industry sectors.

Changes in the urban economy are having substantial impact on the population's structure and dynamics. Urban residents are increasingly moving to adjacent areas. This applies to members of virtually all professional and social strata. The mass movement from city to suburb is encouraged by two factors: the destruction of extensive residential districts in the old large cities and increased private housing in the suburbs. However low income and high unemployment are more an obstacle than an incentive for leaving the city. The efforts of the authorities to solve such problems have remained unsuccessful so far.

Conversely, in the socialist city production development leads to increased employment and frequently results in manpower shortages. In Tallin, for example, the number of people employed in industry alone increased by a factor of 2.3 between 1950 and 1983; the increase in the size of the able-bodied population has been almost totally determined by the migration balance for a number of years, for which reason the problem of coordinating the number of jobs with the able-bodied population and balancing the development of the production sphere with population service sectors assumes prime significance.

The adaptation of the economy to production conditions, which change under the influence of scientific and technical progress, and urban life as a whole is closely related to the need to preserve cultural and historical values developed over many generations. The problem of more closely linking the development of the city with that of its adjacent territory remains relevant. What makes this even more important is that new housing construction frequently takes out of circulation valuable farm land, while the old housing is inefficiently used.

These problems confirm the relevance of this study as well as the need for its further continuation and expansion.

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#### MEETING OF THE 'DEMOGRAPHERS CLUB'

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[Report by L.A. Gavrilov and A.G. Muravyev]

[Text] A demographic section has been fruitfully working for the past more than 20 years at the Moscow Scientists Club, as a kind of creative club not only for Moscow demographers and members of related sciences, but also specialists from other cities, republics and oblasts in the country. Reports on all-union and international seminars and conferences are submitted at regularly held sessions and topical demographic problems are discussed. In particular, since the beginning of the year the section members were informed of the results of the international seminar held in the GDR (reported by Dr of Economic Sciences Ya.N. Guzevatyy), the Soviet-French seminar held in Paris (Dr of Economic Sciences L.L. Rybakovskiy) and the conference of demographers from socialist countries held in Brno (Candidate of Geographic Sciences R.V. Tatevosov).

One of the sessions was addressed by Candidate of Economic Sciences A.A. Rakov, from the Belorussian SSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics. He spoke on laws and trends in BSSR demographic development. Characteristic of that union republic are two distinguishing features of demographic structure: first, it is "more economical" compared with the structure of developing countries, for as a result of the low mortality rate, long life span and optimal birthrate, which have ensured until recently the population's reproduction for the Belorussian SSR as a whole, the correlation between its able-bodied segment and dependents (children and old people) is here much more proportional and advantageous (roughly 1.5:1 as compared to 1:1); secondly, the demographic structure of the BSSR is socially effective, for the relatively higher percentage of individuals in the senior age groups is proof of a tremendous economic, moral and educational potential.

The future demographic development of the republic will be determined by the following trends: a. The equalization of the average number of children in urban and rural families and among different social and professional groups, and the increased share of two-children families; b. Further enhancement of the value of the family; c. Increased share of married women, based on the normalizing of the sex and age structure, with a somewhat reduced percentage



of married women by age group; d. Reduced mortality and increased span of life and a radical reduction in the gap in this respect between men and women and coming closer to the maximal indicators (based on contemporary medical possibilities and achievements) achieved by some developed countries; e. Enhanced prestige, significance and efficiency of social and physical longevity and, respectively, of the economic, social and educational role played by the elderly in society and by grandparents in the family.

The speakers noted a number of interesting features inherent in the Belorussian population and the Belorussians as an ethnocultural group. This applied, above all, of their lower mortality rate and a span of life higher than the national average. The study of this phenomenon is of theoretical and practical significance. However, efforts to interpret it meaningfully have been unsuccessful so far.

In summing up the results of the discussion, Dr of Economic Sciences Professor A.Y. Kvasha emphasized that the complexity and variety of the general and the specific features of regional socioeconomic development require the further elaboration of methods for comprehensive sociodemographic analysis.

The meeting at which a report on "Trends in the Changing Structure of Families in the USSR" was submitted by Candidate of Economic Sciences A.G. Volkov generated a great deal of practical interest. The number of families in the country is increasing by roughly 1 million annually. Most families (84 percent) are complete, i.e., they include both spouses. The nuclear type is becoming further widespread. A special study of census data has indicated that in such families the level of education of the women is as a whole higher than that of the men, particularly among the young generations. This circumstance confirms changes in the status of women in the family and unquestionably influences the family roles performed by the spouses and, possibly, the stability of the marriage.

In the past 20 years the number of interethnic marriages has increased by one-half, accounting for 15 percent of all families. It is particularly high among the group of women with incomplete higher training, in which young people account for the largest percentage. This indirectly proves that one of the basic channels for such marriages is joint attendance of VUZs by people belonging to different ethnic groups. Interesting data were obtained in the course of a special study of the national affiliation of children in ethnically mixed families. It was established that in the republics of Central Asia and the Transcaucasus, the children most frequently opt for the father's nationality, whereas in the European part of the USSR this is less frequently the case.

The increased number of partial families is an alarming phenomenon characterizing the current demographic situation. To a certain extent this is explained by the increased number of early marriages (young men and women born between the end of the 1950s and beginning of 1960s), for, as we know, such families are the most unstable. The speaker rejected the widespread view of the allegedly large number of bachelors in the country, for studies have indicated that by the age of 30 some 90 percent of all men have set up families. The number of married men in our country today is higher than in

other economically developed countries. In order properly to assess contemporary trends, the speaker noted in conclusion, we must take into consideration that the family is now different and its structure and functions have changed substantially. It is important, therefore, to formulate a desirable family model which could be used as a guideline in taking steps aimed at strengthening family-marital relationships.

The debates on the report indicated that it had touched upon many topical problems. The speakers made a number of practical remarks. In particular, Dr of Juridical Sciences G.I. Litvinova emphasized the need for a more thorough assessment of the likelihood of interethnic marriages based on the ethnic structure of the population in a given area. According to Dr of Historical Sciences V.I. Kozlov, the speaker had ignored socioeconomic and sociopsychological factors and the internal processes which determine the stability of family development.

At the next session A.E. Berzinsh spoke of the application of the so-called method of "segmenting" actual generations in the study of population reproduction in the Latvian SSR. The study of the demographic biography of people divided into groups by year of birth is a major trend for the fuller utilization of data from current statistical population records. This method (also described as longitudinal analysis) also reveals features of demographic processes and their dependence on socioeconomic factors and the latest trends in population developments. Said method enables us to improve the reliability of long term forecasts, test individual hypotheses and establish the efficiency of the steps taken to improve the demographic situation. The "segmentation" method can be successfully used also in determining the divorce level and in the study of reasons for divorce.

A.E. Berzinsh suggested a comparison between the results of estimates of the structure of women by the number of children, based on current population data for the period between censuses and similar materials of the 1979 census in order to determine the effectiveness of specific decisions taken to encourage the birthrate. Such comparison enables us to determine the birthrate trends at the beginning of the 1980s and to assess the efficiency of the steps taken.

In the unanimous opinion of those present, the reporter had accomplished a great deal in computing factual data and had convincingly proved, as a whole, the advantages of this method. The view was expressed of the expediency of using the longitudinal analysis of real generations not only in the study of demographic phenomena but also of the people's "economic biography," and changes in economic status based on the life cycle stage (Candidate of Economic Sciences A.S. Milovidov). Another suggestion dealt with the need to improve the current recording of demographic events in such a way as to make the longitudinal analysis possible without any labor-intensive recomputations. (A.G. Volkov).

The 40th anniversary of the victory of the Soviet people over German fascism and Japanese militarism, an important event in our country's life, was noted by the section with a joint report on "The Demographic 'Echo' of the Great Patriotic War" (by A.Ya. Kvassha and Dr of Historical Sciences D.K. Shelestov). The demographic consequences of the war, which are frequently manifested

covertly and indirectly, are various. Their influence on the development of the Soviet population has by no means become exhausted yet and will largely define the rates and proportions of future demographic processes.

The heavy losses which our country suffered--more than 20 million people--are common knowledge. During the first postwar decades this disturbed the correlation between the number of men and women in the reproductive age groups, thus adversely effecting marriage and birthrate intensiveness. Furthermore, there also were the so-called indirect losses, for in war time the birthrate significantly drops and the mortality rate increases in the rear areas.

The consequences of the war also lead to fluctuations in the annual number of births and, consequently, in the shaping of the primary and secondary birth "waves," which affects economic development. Phenomena appear, such as substantial fluctuations in the level of marriages, a "shortage of" brides and grooms and an increased number of extramarital births. The worsened health of the people who have survived a war is not without influence on future generations. To a certain extent (in addition to other reasons) it determines the dynamics of present and future morbidity and mortality.

In developing this topic further, Candidate of Economic Sciences A.B. Sinelnikov considered in detail the influence of the consequences of the Great Patriotic War on the level of marriages and birthrate in the USSR. He noted that the compensatory postwar increase in the birthrate--small in scale but lengthy in terms of time--cannot be interpreted merely as the result of the resumption of disturbed family relations. In 1939 the overall birthrate per 1,000 population was 37.0; during the war it declined by approximately one-half. Although this indicator substantially increased after the war, it did not reach the prewar level. This situation is explained by the interaction of three factors. According to the speaker, based on the retrospective recomputation of data from the 1959 all-union census, in 1949 the number of men and women between the ages of 25 and 44 was in a 2:3 ratio, which made total compensation impossible. As generations which had not participated in the war entered their active childbearing age, the correlation between men and women was gradually equalized. This restored the marriage rate and should have increased the overall birthrate coefficient. However, this did not take place, for there was a parallel process, which had begun at the end of the 19th century and is continuing to this day, of a lowering in the birthrate.

The speaker had made special computations to separate the effects of the growth of the marriage rate from the reduced birthrate. In 1939 approximately three-quarters of all women between the ages of 20 and 49 were married and the marital index, which characterized the percentage of this category of women, taking their child-bearing activity into consideration equaled 0.74. By 1949 it had dropped to 0.56 (almost 50 percent of women in the main child-bearing age groups were unmarried); it equaled 0.63 in 1954, 0.66 in 1959 and was able to reach its prewar level only as late as 1970.

In theory the increased share of married women of child-bearing age should be accompanied by an increase in the overall birthrate coefficient. The hypothetical minimum of the natural birthrate (which indicates its level had

it depended exclusively on the marital and age population structure, without abortions and contraception) was 51.4 in 1939. By 1949 it had dropped to 43.3; subsequently, with the restoration of the disturbed ratio between the sexes, it rose to 48.4 in 1959. By 1970, once again this indicator dropped to 45.7 per 1,000 population, which was due no longer to the marital but the age-group structure: the generations of people who had been born during the war had entered the most intensive child-bearing age (20-29).

All three reports were heard with great attention. In the course of the discussion which followed, the conclusion of the need for a profound and detailed historical-demographic study of the consequences of the Great Patriotic War and their influence on population development was supported. We should take into consideration not only direct and indirect war losses but also changes in the people's demographic behavior. In the opinion of the participants in the discussion, surveys of people who had gone through the war could provide valuable data.

This report is an attempt to describe the content of merely a few of the scientific discussions organized by the demographic section at Moscow's Scientists Club. The section holds regularly such meetings. We believe that the scientific contacts developing within the "demographers club" should be published in this journal, the more so since it has always willingly published data on demographic problems.

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## LABOR DISCIPLINE AS OBJECT OF SOCIAL MANAGEMENT

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[Report by V. M. Pinzenik]

[Text] A practical science conference on "Labor and Industrial Discipline as the Object of Social Management" was conducted in the summer of 1985 in Lvov. Party, soviet and trade union employees, managers of industrial associations, enterprises and organizations, and of Moscow and Lvov scientific establishments participated. Opening the conference, V. V. Sekretaryuk, CP of the Ukraine, Lvov Gorkom, said that the country is faced with an important task: ensuring the further growth of the well-being of the Soviet people on the basis of a rapid rate of industrial development, acceleration of scientific and technical progress and conversion of the economy to intensive development, more efficient use of industrial potential and conservation of all types of resources. A constant search for ways to accelerate our development and identifying the most accessible reserves, capable of yielding a high return in the shortest time without significant outlays, are necessary. Strengthening of labor discipline and ensuring order and organization in the national economy, are the most important among these. In this connection, drawing up efficient forms of labor discipline management, and improved organization in enterprises and associations, takes on great significance.

The significance of labor discipline under the conditions of perfecting developed socialism is growing, emphasized V. P. Dobrik, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee Politburo candidate member, first secretary of the Lvov Party obkom. This is stipulated by the increased scales of social production, the increased complexity of problems of economic, sociopolitical and spiritual development of society and the aggravation of the struggle in the international arena. Strengthening of social discipline is not only an important socioeconomic factor of production intensification. It promotes restructuring social relations into the collectivistic principles inherent in socialism. The speaker discussed in detail the forms of work on strengthening labor discipline, conducted in Lvov oblast enterprises. Such manifestations of lack of discipline as nonfulfillment of plans, contractual and socialist obligations, the production of substandard goods, inefficient use of labor and material resources, absenteeism, equipment idling and violations of technological, planning and financial discipline, are being eliminated. In

the first 4 years of the 11th 5-Year Plan, average work-time losses of were reduced by 51 percent per oblast industry worker and by 62 percent in construction. The change of the work mode of consumer services, trade, savings banks and the communal economy and the expansion of services to workers at work, had great influence on this reduction. Party, trade union and Komsomol organizations and the people's control bodies should seek out and implement new possibilities for further perfecting work aimed at strengthening socialist labor discipline.

Doctor of Philosophical Sciences S. T. Guryanov (MGU) devoted his presentation to the sociolegal mechanisms of labor discipline management. Legal standards are still inefficiently used in the struggle against labor discipline violations. Furthermore, legal methods of influence should be related to the system of incentives and penalties.

Candidate of Economic Sciences A. I. Volgin (Moscow) spoke on the problem of the interrelationship between labor discipline and loss in public production. The latter should be studied with consideration of all links of production; only through such an approach can their real value be determined. Losses in social production are directly related to the level of labor discipline. The speaker noted that the loss of 1 minute of work time throughout the country's national economy is equivalent to the loss of 1 working day by 200,000 people. In A. I. Volgin's opinion, under socialist production conditions we must examine labor indicators (including discipline) from the position of specific labor and its socially determined form.

Production intensification and increased efficiency, noted Lvov University Rector, Dr of Historical Sciences V. P. Chugayev, greatly depend on precision and coordination in work and upbringing in the spirit of a communist attitude towards labor. Labor discipline under developed socialism is typified by an increase in the degree of consciousness, independence and a creative, initiative-minded approach to the matter.

Dr of Economic Sciences M. I. Dolishniy's (Lvov) presentation dealt with questions on the interrelationships between labor discipline and cadre turnover. He noted that high labor discipline stipulates stability and flexibility of the labor collective, which are important factors in efficient use of work time. Furthermore, M. I. Dolishniy analyzed the economic and social losses caused by cadre turnover and the ways and means of forming a stable collective. He summarized the results of sociological research conducted on this problem in enterprises in the western oblasts of the UkSSR by the Lvov branch of the Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics.

G.P. Kutsenko, general director of one of the production associations in Lvov, reported on way an automated system for processing documents (ASKID) allows for supervision of the status of labor discipline, order and organization in the enterprise. The execution of assignments is calculated using a compliance coefficient, the value of which determines the size of the bonus. In the association, a system for comprehensive evaluation of activity results (KORD) also operates; it is an important means of increasing discipline, order and organization. Further improvement of this work should promote the elimination of planning based on achievements and an increase in enterprise independence.

S. I. Ivanenkova, secretary of the Lvov Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Party Committee, spoke on the need for further improvement of management of social processes in production. She analyzed the forms of ideological and political work in labor collectives and at home, and gave examples of the efficient study of public opinion.

Candidate of Economic Sciences M. V. Bryk, director of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Social Sciences, considered in detail the role of a comprehensive approach to solving social problems. Social planning is the most important aspect in the implementation of such an approach. However, the speaker pointed out that so far social standards have not been developed and the planning of economic efficiency is not always accompanied by the evaluation of related social results.

G. F. Penkova, chairman of the Lvov City People's Control Committee, spoke on the role of people's controllers in raising labor discipline. The most tangible results are achieved when people's control groups join forces with other social organizations, and in places where the clear-cut leadership of Party organs and administrative backing are provided for. Not only the discipline of individual workers, but also the activity of enterprises on the whole, particularly of supply and marketing organizations and the consumer service sector, depend upon the efficiency of people's control.

The influence of planning discipline upon the results of economic management and the efficiency of using production resources was considered by Dr of Economic Sciences I. R. Mikhasyuk, professor at Lvov University. This interrelationship has particular significance in the agroindustrial complex. The speaker expresses his thoughts on ways to strengthen planning discipline and on the significance of proper evaluation of resource potential for substantiating plan assignments for various APK links and proposed a method for calculating resource potential.

V. S. Borodiy (Sovetskiy Raykom) spoke on the possibilities offered by a brigade form of labor organization and incentives. According to research data, absenteeism is half as high, full-day and intrashift working time losses are lower by a factor of 1.5 - 3 and cadre turnover is significantly lower in brigades. The new form of labor organization contributes to improving its effectiveness. Further strengthening of discipline under conditions of a collective form of labor organization is related to solving the problem of staffing brigades and perfecting labor norming and incentive.

The conference summarized progressive experience in strengthening labor discipline and drafted recommendations, the implementation of which will contribute to further improvements in controlling production discipline.

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#### HUMAN HEALTH: SOCIAL ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
(signed to press 16 Oct 85) pp 175-178

[Report by V. I. Tishchenko]

[Text] An all-union conference on "Socioeconomic Problems of Human Health" was held in Lvov. It was sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Department of Philosophy and Law, USSR Ministry of Health, the CP of the Ukraine Lvov Obkom and the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Western Scientific Center, in the framework of the research program "Social Sciences: Medicine". Over 200 scientists participated. Particular attention was given to discussion of the basic trends of CPSU social policy in the area of preserving the population's health and of philosophical, conceptual and economic problems of human health. Questions of ecology and demographics were also considered.

The conference was opened by V. A. Svyatotskiy, CP of the Ukraine, Lvov Obkom secretary, who spoke on the place of questions of preserving the population's health in the activities of the oblast party organization. Thus, on the initiative of the party obkom, the program "Raising the Quality of Oblast Labor Potential" was developed. It is a question of the set of measures, directed towards further perfection of sociodemographic development, improvements in work and resting conditions and medical services.

Academician O. K. Gavrilov of the USSR AMN and Dr of Medical Sciences O. P. Shchepin typified the material and technological base of health preservation in their joint report. It was pointed out that, thanks to the system of preventative measures in the USSR, the percentage of epidemic diseases has been reduced. The morbidity rate related to working and living conditions, harmful habits, negative consequences of urbanization and environmental pollution has grown. In the opinion of the speakers, the success of disease prevention in many respects will depend on clinical examinations of the country's entire population.

The conference participants carefully considered questions on the interconnection between the way of life, the population's health condition and the quality of labor potential. This subject served as the *sui generis* leitmotif of the scientific discussions. In particular, concern was expressed over the fact that in many branches of medicine, especially in social hygiene,



important general philosophical and methodological questions remain unanswered. For example, it is unclear what is normal in a way of life and what should be regarded as deviations.

Dr of Philosophical Sciences V. N. Ivanov's presentation, which concerned the sociological aspects of the way of life, evoked great interest. The speaker emphasized the need for a goal-oriented influence upon the formation of requirements, interests, habits and lifestyles of working people, and dwelled on the interrelationships between health problems and the quality of the country's labor potential. He noted the relevance of studying such concepts as "socialist civilization" and "socialist way of life". Health is an indicator of culture, and the organization of health care attests to the societal level of civilization. Expansion of man's range of activity, noted the speaker, can create new causes of disease; therefore it is necessary to purposefully study the factors which preserve health under changing conditions and avert the negative influence of new technological solutions in their developmental stage. V. N. Ivanov spoke out for further development of a medical and genetic consultation network and mental hygiene offices. In his opinion, at this time such theoretical problems as the influence of social factors on human health have still not been properly developed.

Yu. I. Borodin, USSR AMN vice-president, and Candidate of Philosophical Sciences L. G. Matros reported on leading a healthy way of life under Siberian conditions. When resolving problems of labor-saving socioeconomic policy, the study of migration, in the course of which the demographic situation changes and the population ages, plays an important role. In connection with this, the preventative treatment and development of regional "Health" programs with consideration of the purposeful control of migrations, optimization of work conditions, shaping of sensible requirements and perfecting of health care practices, take on great significance. The regional aspects are essential here, since the use of averaged standards leads to erroneous conclusions. The speakers thoroughly discussed recreational measures implemented in Siberia and its sanatorium and health resort possibilities. Provision for health care requires a unified comprehensive system, including treatment, prevention and recreation.

The dialectics of the social and the biological was closely examined by Professor I. N. Smirnov, dr of philosophical sciences. It is only by involving sociophilosophical and conceptual categories which help interpret all facets of health problems, that it is possible to work out a unified method for studying their features. One of the primary questions is the definition of the concept "health". A well-structured concept of health, relying upon a complete, integrated approach, should become the basis for expanding research in this field.

Presentations of scientists working in the field of social hygiene were heard out with great attention. Yu. P. Lisitsin, USSR AMN corresponding member, described the role of behavioral and sociopsychological factors in health care in his report "Way of Life and Prevention". In comprehensive sociohygienic research, health is considered to be the result of the interaction among the organism, the environment and behavior. Certain researchers confuse this with concepts of "conditions" and "way" of life. So far, there has been no clear

definition of illness and health. In defining the latter it is expedient to proceed from the "way of life" concept.

L. G. Perekopskaya, docent of the Chair of Social Hygiene and Health Care Organization MOLGMI No 2 imeni N. I. Pirogov, presented a new definition of medical prevention. In her opinion, prevention is a system of socioecological and medical measures for preserving, improving, restoring and reproducing the population's health. This system, on the one hand, is called upon to avert and eliminate the original causes and the development of factors which adversely affect health, and on the other, to use, improve or create positive factors.

Ye. N. Savaleva, candidate of medical sciences, suggested that research on the interaction between health and way of life on the level of individual social groups and collectives is of the highest priority. When studying the interaction of health and way of life on the level of labor collectives, it is expedient to single out the following trends: the influence of health on production and social activity and the medical activeness of working people, the influence of production and social activity and medical activeness upon the state of health, and the interaction among medical, labor and social activeness.

R. Kh. Simonyan, sector chief of USSR Gosplan Planning and Standards Scientific Research Institute, and Dr of Medical Sciences S. M. Navasardov, head of a laboratory on socioeconomic problems of the population at the Institute of Biological Problems of the North, spoke on the need to create a system of integral indicators for evaluating the population's health. Economic problems of perfecting the socialist way of life were considered as an important factor in determining the population's health by Dr of Economic Sciences P. V. Savchenko in a joint report with Ye. I. Kapustin, USSR AN corresponding member. In particular, they pointed out that the comprehensive program of production mechanization and automation which is being carried out in the country contributes to societal uniformity and positively influences the population's health.

Dr of Medical Sciences V. M. Lupandin examined methodological problems related to choices of "basic unit" for sociological studies of the way of life. He spoke on the shaping of new territorial populations, for which specific features of way of life and migration dynamics which directly influence the population's health are typical.

At the conference, social problems in health care relating to the practical implementation of achievements of social and natural sciences were examined. In particular, USSR IGPAN associates discusses the legal question of medicine, the prospects for development of a state-forensic system for health care, considering the level of modern science's development, the interests of individuals and society on the whole (Dr of Juridical Sciences N. S. Malein), and the problems of legal protection of maternity and childhood (Candidate of Juridical Sciences A. M. Nechayeva). Candidate of Medical Sciences O. V. Filippov analyzed the results of sociological study of interrelations between scientists and practicing physicians in the application of scientific results in health care.

A discussion on the comprehensive, integrated program "Upgrading Quality of Labor Potential in Lvov Oblast" filled an important place in the conference. Dr of Economic Sciences M. I. Dolishniy and Candidate of Economic Sciences Yu. V. Savitskiy spoke on the scientific and methodological substantiation of the program. A. A. Ladnyy, assistant chief of the Lvov Oblast Health Care Department, reported on methods and effectiveness of influence of health care on the quality of labor potential. The oblast has set up a broad network of consultation polyclinics, diet-food cafeterias and plant preventative offices. Individual work with persons with a risk factor was conducted; using a computer, sickly children are promptly identified. The application of economic and mathematical methods for controlling health care will be expanded in the future. The economic benefit from reducing the number of cases with temporary disability was over 1.5 million rubles and the length of stay in in-patient hospitals was shortened by 1.4 days.

A comparative study of the program to upgrade the quality of labor potential in the Lvov oblast and of the "Taganrog-II" program for socioeconomic development was presented in a report by Dr. of Economic Sciences N. M. Rinashevskaya. She positively rated the Lvov program because of its broad theoretical and methodical base and its practical purposefulness. She shared her experience in socioeconomic study of health on the family level.

I. V. Sutokskaya presented a report on behalf of its three authors (USSR AMN Academician G. I. Sidorenko, Dr of Medical Sciences Yu. I. Prokopenko and Candidate of Biological Sciences I. V. Sutokskaya) entitled "Environmental Protection and Population Health: Sociopolitical and Methodological Issues." It is necessary to provide for a differentiated approach to individual, group and public health and to reduce harmful influence of the environment to a minimum. Here epidemiological research, which permits the determination of quantitative and qualitative indicators of health in relation to factors of the environment, should play an important role.

Speakers analyzed in detail the mutual dependence between the population's health and demographic factors. In the opinion of V. K. Ovcharov, dr of medical sciences and director of the Social Hygiene and Health Care Organization VNII, sociomedical aspects of demographic processes must be studied more closely. The latter, suggests Dr of Medical Sciences M. S. Bednyy, are the forms which most directly influence health.

Above all, speakers addressed the question of loneliness, caused by the large number of children in families without fathers (among these children there are higher mortality and morbidity rates, i.e. giving birth to a child in a fatherless family is a risk factor) and of abortions. It is important to optimize the nature of the population's reproduction and to ensure a high level of health for present and future generations.

Closing the conference, USSR AMN Academician Yu. I. Borodin emphasized that health is a societal rather than strictly medical concern. A comprehensive approach should be the basic method when studying the population's health. The concept of "health" should not be complicated and, although its formulation, as provided by VOZ, is incomplete, it should be used as a starting point. Yu. I. Borodin called upon the participants to establish

closer contacts among representatives of different branches of science, and stated that the conference results will be used in the further development of sociophilosophical problems of health, which is conducted in the context of the "Social Sciences--Medicine" program by the USSR AN Philosophy and Law Department.

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## FAMILY CONTRACT -- NEW FORM OF AGRICULTURAL LABOR ORGANIZATION

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[Report by S. I. Zavyalov]

[Text] The VASKhNIL section on private auxiliary plot development problems held an extensive meeting at which the use of the family contract in farming practices was discussed. The meeting was opened by VASKhNIL President, USSR AN Academician A. A. Nikonov. He directed participants' attention to the great social significance of studying labor organization and wage problems in agriculture and to the need to search for such forms in which the specific nature of the sector would be maximally considered.

Dr of Economic Sciences G. I. Shmelev, section chairman, was the main speaker (the article, on which his report was based, is published elsewhere in this issue) and pointed out that the reserved, at times even negative attitude of individual scientists and practical workers towards the family contract, presently a still relatively unknown and insufficiently researched form of labor organization in agriculture, is influenced in a significant degree by conflicting interpretations in its understanding. The speaker further emphasized that the family contract does not mandatorily suggest using the labor potential of members of only one family; by no means does it exclude the labor of family-unrelated workers. Here interfamily cooperation is possible, much the same as if combined with a brigade contract. As a variety of the latter, the family contract, in all basic, essential features, stays well within the context of socialist production relationships: those employed within it remain participants in public production. Labor in this connection is organized in accordance with the goals and plan of collective farm and is based mainly on the use of publicly-owned means of production. Distribution is carried out strictly according to the quantity and quality of labor invested, its final results, etc. Although the application of a citizen's privately owned production means is possible here, it does not follow that one should oppose this form of collective contract for this reason. G. I. Shmelev further noted the widespread popularity of the family contract in a number of socialist countries (Bulgaria, Hungary, Vietnam, PRC) and gave examples of its successful development in many of our country's oblasts. Now, the speaker believes, it is important to identify and properly balance all the pluses and minuses of a contract on a family basis and to create an effective system of legal, economic and other standards for proper channeling of its development.

Candidate of Economic Sciences R. Sh. Kakuliya, deputy chairman of the Georgian SSR State Committee for Agriculture, spoke on experience in organizing a family contract in two alpine sovkhozes in Mestiyskiy Rayon in Georgia, on the application of a contractual system and wages based on end results, within the context of family and sovkhoz rights and responsibilities, as well as on production and economic results. Over a short period the production of milk on the sovkhozes grew significantly and livestock raising quality indicators improved sharply. They managed to reduce production outlays while simultaneously increasing the workers' average earnings and ensuring profitability in formerly losing sovkhozes. Incentives for retaining manpower resources were strengthened. In the speaker's opinion, the family contract is virtually the only way to solve the set of problems urgently arising in rayons where conditions are extreme.

Having characterized the relationships forming within the context of the family contract as a variety of socialist production relations, Dr of Economic Sciences M. I. Kozyr noted that a similar type of contract is a manifestation of real economic independence of enterprises which freely choose forms labor organization and incentive. Presently, an urgent need has arisen for the development of legal directions which regulate the functioning of the family contract and for review of financial and economic norms related to the wage system in agriculture. Referring to the example of LPKh and the collective contract, the speaker emphasized that the solution of these questions is steadily lagging behind practical requirements.

On the basis of the study of experience accumulated in the area under consideration, Candidate of Economic Sciences V. F. Vershinin touched upon a number of important issues in his presentation. In particular, he spoke out in defense of the concept of the socialist nature of the family contract, characterizing it as a small-group variety of the collective contract, completely founded upon public property as a means of production. The phenomenon of the family contract permits efficient labor organization under conditions which often require only 2-3 people equipped with modern devices, to carry out the entire work required in producing one or another commodity. This circumstance, as well as the specific nature of the sector (seasons, territorial discontinuity) predetermines the expediency of family labor activity in one type of output and even in one work place. Among the advantages of the method are: reduction of outlays for accounting and control, decrease in the amount of potential labor and other conflicts. The real possibility of combining executive and administrative functions and of giving people the feeling of informal ownership of public property is particularly important.

I. A. Kolchenko, candidate of philosophical sciences, positively rated the high efficiency of the contract and discussed the possibilities of its application in the non-Chernozem agrarian zone in detail. He proposed a number of specific recommendations, taking into account the experience of socialist countries. Among them, a proposal on involving urban families in agricultural production drew interest. By contract with a kolkhoz or sovkhoz, they carry out an entire project, right up to obtaining the end results. Another form is setting up agroindustrial cooperatives consisting of city dwellers on the basis of shareholding with wide use of the family-brigade

contract. In this connection it would be expedient to create a special scientific and planning organization for production and socioeconomic planning of this area in conformity with conditions prevailing in the RSFSR's non-Chernozem zone.

M. Z. Zarayev, contributor to the newspaper SELSKAYA ZHIZN, drew the conference participants' attention to the circumstances impeding the introduction of new organizational forms. Above all it is necessary to overcome stereotyped thinking. It is known, for example, that the activation of private plot production sometimes is treated as a source of excessive enrichment and as a factor which contributes to the stratification of social groups. The family contract could encounter a similar interpretation. For the time being, it is used extremely insufficiently. In Armenia, where rural families are usually large, family brigades operate virtually only in farms which grow tobacco, although experience testifies to the high efficiency of such labor organization not only in plant growing, but also in animal husbandry. At times there is obviously insufficient flexibility in the search for different variants of the family contract. Yet it is possible to combine it, for example, with a private, auxiliary farm.

Theoretical study of the essence, form of manifestation, principles of organization and conditions for efficient application of the family contract, noted Dr of Economic Sciences V. F. Bashmachnikov, makes it possible to change all negative attitudes still encountered towards it and to strengthen the labor activeness of family collective members and forestall negative social consequences. The prerequisites for applying forms of small-group labor organization in agriculture stem from narrower limits of concentration of production and technological division of labor, territorial dispersion of production, decentralization of management and so forth, than in industry. All this stipulates the possibility of creating small production targets, corresponding to the labor potential of families which differ in nature and composition. In choosing these forms one should fully consider the specific nature of the region and national traditions. Questions on the inclusion of family collectives within a system of public labor organization and on their place in the structure of the public farm also need theoretical development. Since the means of production in the framework of a family contract remain public property and production is marketed through public channels, its use should not be considered a violation of socialist agricultural production principles.

The family contract strengthens the cost accounting foundations of farming, since the administrative methods of management in this case are not supplemented, but in many cases are replaced by economic methods. The functions of managers are limited to general supervision and technological and organizational support of contract collectives. The speaker emphasized that the viewpoint that use of this form creates a danger of predominance of family and group interests over public interests is unjust. On the contrary, the close dependence of the family's material situation on the production and economic results of its work contributes to their interweaving and harmonizing.

The presentations of other participants at the conference were heard out with great attention. Dr of Juridical Sciences G. V. Chubukov supported a proposal on reviewing opinions on the principles of agricultural labor organization and on the applicability of regulations within it which are inherent in industrial production. This desire also relates to labor relations in agriculture, during the development of a normative foundation for which it is necessary to take into consideration the guarantee of working people's rights granted by the socialist state, including those related to wages. The fact is that agricultural labor for a number of reasons, above all as a consequence of its seasonal nature, often creates a requirement for exclusively intense use of the manpower in a nonstandard day. The family contract should be considered one of the basic forms for economic energizing of the population. Candidate of Economic Sciences N. K. Kodyrov developed this thought. In particular, he considered unfounded the anxiety over deepening differences in sizes of earnings of those involved in a family contract, since differences here, as a rule, are determined by the quantity of labor invested, its productivity and final results. Under socialism such occurrences are unavoidable and if it is a question of labor income, the social consequences of their differentiation should also not be interpreted as simply negative.

V. A. Degtyarev, associate of the USSR Ministry of Fruit and Vegetable Industry pointed out an important feature of the family contract. Within the framework of the contract, categories of the population which previously did not take part in social production or participated to a limited extent, in other words, who were employed only part time, become involved in labor activities. These are primarily housewives, retired persons the partially disabled, rural and urban residents alike. Thus, vegetable-growing contracts with townspeople of the Sumi and Donetsk Oblasts, UkSSR and certain oblasts in the RSFSR were concluded. It is noteworthy that a third of the work force consists of housewives and pensioners, and two thirds are workers and employees and members of their families. A similar practice could become one of the basic ways to attract seasonal manpower in agriculture.

The conference participants made recommendations which reflected the majority of expressed viewpoints. In particular, it was suggested that kolkhozes and sovkhoses be given greater rights to choose the form and extent of application of a family contract, to organize a scientific base for researching it, paying special attention in this respect to questions of the social and economic effectiveness of the method and of family material incentive. It was deemed expedient to conduct an all-union, practical science conference on problems of using small-group forms of labor organization in agriculture in 1986 within the framework of VASKhNIL.

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## LGU SCIENTISTS ON STUDENT UPBRINGING PRACTICE

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[Report by V. T. Lisovskiy and V. A. Sukhin]

[Text] Exactly 20 years ago, in the fall of 1965, a new subdivision appeared at the Leningrad State University imeni A. A. Zhdanov: the Institute for Comprehensive Social Research (NIIKSI). It was set up on the basis of a number of social science laboratories. Over these 2 decades it has conducted several unique studies; the institute's programs and methods are used by both Soviet and foreign sociologists. In cooperation with other establishments, NIIKSI developed and applied a territorial system for comprehensive economic and social planning in Moscow, Leningrad and Leningrad oblast. For this project, a group of scientists and practical workers received the USSR State Prize in 1980.

The Institute for Comprehensive Social Research is one of the largest sociological centers of our country. The range of problems which institute associates are studying is quite broad: the dynamics of Soviet society's social structure, social planning, sociopsychological mechanisms of human behavior, work and recreation, marriage and the family, higher education, and the methods and procedures of social research. The basic directions of the institute's activities are ratified by the RSFSR Minvuz: 1. The development of theoretical and methodological foundations of social planning under conditions of developed socialism (labor collectives and territorial and administrative education -- large cities). 2. Study of social problems of higher education and the communist upbringing of the students. 3. Research on problems of the individual and collectives in various areas of activity.

The three main areas of work are subdivided into a number of more narrow subjects. One of them is "Study of Ways of Life of Student Youth in a Large City Under the Conditions of the Educational Reform." We shall cover this in greater detail.

The first research results are already leading to thoughts and are prompting a decisive rejection of many existing stereotypes. In the past few years the concept of "education" itself has changed. Whereas previously it had gravitated towards encyclopedic knowledge, it has now acquired a more conceptual nature. The conceptual saturation of education was greatly

strengthened and its guiding role has increased. An educated person is now no longer considered to be one who knows everything in his narrow field, but one who is able to learn everything that he needs in his practical work.

Associates of the differential psychology laboratory have established that graduates in the 1980s are substantially weaker in level of intellectual development compared to 1960s graduates. The influence of higher education on the mind has weakened. Teaching a person to think, to develop his creative abilities—in this task higher schools are far from always successful. In a number of VUZs, the curriculum is geared to average or weak, at times even on negligent students. Everything possible is done to "pull up" the latter to a diploma and raise their grades, if only for the sake of fulfilling the "dropout plan". Unconscientious students have learned this well. These surveys of fourth year students in six LGU departments, conducted by us in November 1984, are indicative. Each respondent was asked to choose from types of personalities included in the questionnaire which best corresponded to his present state. Paradoxically, 28.7 percent of the respondents rated themselves as "average", 16.8 percent as "loafers" and only 10.1 percent as "studious". What did we run into in this situation? Was it a lowered self-evaluation or the real state of affairs? The second is closer to the truth, for these surveys almost completely concur with the grades in the respondents' transcripts.

Research indicates that the passiveness of students is explained primarily by the habit acquired while still in grade school of being under the unflinching control of teachers and parents. Having turned up in a new situation for him, yesterday's secondary student cannot adapt and becomes a poor student. The weak interest of students in raising the quality of studies does not play the least role here—he would get the diploma all the same and grades do not influence assignments. In a student environment a stereotype is formed: an excellent student becomes a crammer while in the future a passing student could become a good specialist. Thus laziness is justified while dullness and mediocrity are elevated to the rank of virtues.

Young people were also asked this question: "If you were dean of a department (rector of a VUZ) what would you change in the training and upbringing of students?" From the suggested choice of answers the respondents preferred the following: "I would increase strictness towards students and their responsibility for studying. I would quickly dismiss sloppy individuals and loafers who do not want to study. I would reduce the number of required classes and introduce voluntary attendance of classes for excellent students and those who are doing well. I would require teachers to raise the quality of lectures and would make them harder, avoiding repetition of commonplace truths. I would print up lecture summaries and distribute them to students. I would add more optional subjects and lighten the load."

In order to eliminate these and other shortcomings made evident in the course of research, we developed a scientific and methodical program for student upbringing. It is widely used in many of the country's VUZs. The program presumes fruitful cooperation between student and teacher, specializing and sociopolitical chairs, academic and administrative subdivisions and social organization. Particular attention was given here to the problem of measuring

the effectiveness of study and education work in the VUZ. We started with the fact that the most important indicators are the students' responsible attitude towards studying, the ability to see elements of a future profession in it and readiness for independent work. The main efforts of those who teach should be focused not on reducing and simplifying study material, but on improving the organization of the study process, and its stricter systematization. Well-organized work on the teacher's part is, in the final analysis, the most effective means of education.

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#### CHRONICLE

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85 (signed to press 16 Oct 85) p 182

[Text] A republic scientific conference on "Problems and Ways of Development of Student Abilities, Scientific and Technical Creativity and Social Activeness" was held in Kaunas, with the participation of representatives of the Lithuanian SSR Ministry of Education, the USSR Ministry of Education Scientific Research Institute of Higher School Problems, the LSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, the USSR AN ISI and higher school faculties.

The speakers emphasized that the initial period, when the foundations of an active life stance are laid, is particularly important; the need to conduct longitudinal studies more extensively was noted. Considerable attention was paid to the formulation of criteria for assessing the social activeness of students and their indicators and to the system for the moral and material stimulation of social activeness. While noting some changes in the study of problems of social activeness of VUZ students, the speakers expressed concern over the lack of profound analysis of publications and insufficient use of the available conceptual apparatus and instruments and means of information processing. This violates the requirements of the scientific organization of data gathering and processing, lowers the reliability of results and leads to unsubstantiated conclusions and suggestions. Contributed by T.M. Karakhanova and Yu.I. Leonavichyus.

The AUCCTU Scientific Center is planning a practical science conference on "Upgrading the Role of Labor Collectives in Resolving Problems of Trade Union Social and Economic Development at the Present Stage and their Tasks," to be held on 23-25 April 1986. The conference organizational committee invites those interested in participating in the conference to request additional information by writing to 109240, Moscow, Solyanka, 14/2, or dialing telephone No 297-67-66.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### DICTIONARY OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

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[Review by V.B. Golofast, G.A. Pogosyan and V.A. Yadov of the book "Slovar Prikladnoy Sotsiologii." Universitetskoye, Minsk, 1984, 317 pp]

[Text] This is the first domestic publication of a dictionary of sociological terms, the appearance of which had been long awaited by sociologists, workers in related sciences, party and soviet personnel and economic managers.

This is both a dictionary and a reference book: it includes about 200 terms, most of which accompanied by an extensive explanation. The authors of the individual articles give us the etymology and definition of the concept, additional explanations, practical examples and a short bibliography.

The preface cautions the users that "the process of developing a terminology for applied sociology has not been completed yet" (p 3). Indeed, although in sociology the range of basic concepts could be described as quite steady, there are few clear and simple definitions of terms extensively used in theory and practice. It is precisely the formulation of a uniform terminology and its scientific application that is the main task of a dictionary of sociological terms and concepts. To the authors' credit let us point out that in many of the entries this problem has been resolved on a high scientific level.

The terms included in the work cover three more or less coordinated groups: a. Problems of method, techniques and applied statistics; b. General sociological concepts; c. Areas of sociological knowledge dealing with individual social institutions, areas and types of social activities.

The section on program support for sociological research, bases for selection, social measurements and applied mathematical statistics is characterized on the whole by the following feature: The more elementary the concept, the more it is explained aptly and in detail. This includes entries on information-gathering methods, measurement choices and methods, programs and organization of sociological studies, statistical parameters and means of communication. Entries on comparative, panel and longitudinal studies and multiple-

measurement statistical methods are less well written. They lack specific examples, and their presentation is loose, incomplete and unsystematic.

In our view, this is the result of two circumstances: First, the dictionary reflects the level of "technology" reached in mass practical work: the quantification model of social features consists primarily of a one-dimensional scale. Second, complex multidimensional elaborations are by no means always suitable in practically-oriented research, for they are less given to clear interpretation and lack the necessary practical simplicity.

A rather delicate situation arises. The range of ideas used today as a base for social measurement models is considerably broader than the theory of one-dimensional scales and the principles applied in the formulation of operational concepts. Theoretical and applied studies make successful use of concepts relative not only to the level of the initial measurement but also of the multilevel nature of empirical data. This includes meaningful foundations for a multidimensional approach to information, the theory of indicators, tests, grading, multiple-measure classifications and typologies and, finally, awareness of the methodological roles of the various levels of theoretical conceptualization of problems in the use of specific social measurement methods.

As to applied sociology, here as well we need the use of methods more suitable to the nature of the targets, despite a certain risk of losing "direct" contact with managers guided by said information. Obviously, we must seek means for the intelligible interpretation of the conclusions based on applied research and illustrate studies with clear examples. It would be suitable, in such cases, to include in the dictionary references to the specific studies in which one complex method or another or a statistical apparatus was applied, or else a methodical problem was aptly (it is probably difficult to say exemplary, for the time being) solved.

The compilers have paid great attention to terms describing the quality of sociological instruments and empirical data obtained with their help. Bearing in mind the current clearly inadequate knowledge of mathematical statistics on the part of practical sociologists, the abundant availability of the necessary information offered is one of the dictionary's best qualities. Furthermore, familiarity with this section encourages us to reinterpret key problems in the theory of substantiation of the accuracy of sociological data. Orientation toward the metrological concept of the ideal measurement and the related theory of errors is becoming increasingly popular in our publications on the methods and techniques of sociological research (this dictionary is no exception). Hence the temptation to consider the metrological model of reliability as the main category.

However, the main feature of social measurement quality is entirely different: since measurements are made as a rule with the direct participation of the person (observer or respondent), and are based on nonstandard means even in applied research, the most difficult to develop is the system of guaranteed and confident "reaching" of the object of measurement, i.e., ensuring the substantiation (validity) of features. It is precisely this prerequisite that is the most important in social measurement practices, in sociology as well as

psychology, demography and economics. Whether it is a question of gross or net birthrate, mortality or marriage coefficients, gross, value or physical indicators, personal questionnaire "factors," or sociometric "indicators," from the methodological viewpoint the qualification of means of measurement is primarily directed toward refining their areas of validity, and only then their reliability and other technical features.

The part on sociological categories and laws of applied sociology is of particular interest. They include "the self-advancement of social systems, and their proportional and planned development, the increased leading role of the working class and the accelerated growth of the urban population" (pp 38-40). Naturally, not all of these processes are laws relevant to strictly applied sociology. On the other hand, many of the laws governing social development, brought to light within the framework of historical materialism and scientific communism, are also part of the laws governing Marxist-Leninist sociology. However, the author's intention of especially singling out applied sociology laws has not been carried out in full. The text is further impoverished by the lack of clear and convincing examples. Unfortunately, the reader will not find mentioned a basic applied sociology law, such as the law of large numbers. Yet, essentially it is the practical and logical substantiation of the selection idea in sociological research.

It is difficult to agree with some of the assertions found in the article on "Sociological Categories." In our view, we cannot consider as strictly sociological procedures such as factorial and correlation analysis, and machine data processing, the more so since all of them were used in other areas of sciences long before they were used in applied sociology.

As a whole, despite such errors, the entries prove that a firm theoretical bridgehead has been established, from which one may clearly see the further trend in the development of domestic sociology. It is a question not only of the extensive widening of the sociological approach to encompass ever new areas and spheres of social life but also of the real penetration of this approach within the specific social development mechanism.

Work on this section (which the authors themselves describe as a series of more than 20 special sociological theories) was obviously the most difficult, for it pertained directly to defining the subject of sociology and the structure of sociological theories, i.e., of problems still considered debatable. Thus, the dictionary pays great attention to the special sociological categories, although terms such as "general theory of sociology" or "sociological theory" are not mentioned.

Obviously, a review should not start a polemic on the structure of sociological knowledge. Let us only point out that we consider fruitful the idea according to which Marxist sociology is the science of the establishment, development and functioning of social communities and social processes and relations acting as mechanisms of interaction and interconnection among them. Such definition of the subject of sociology reflects the principles of the dialectical-materialistic understanding of the development of society as an integral social organism, which is the common theoretical and methodological foundation of all social sciences, and the concept of sociological theory

itself as a science of social communities, within which sectorial and specialized sociological theories with a more specialized area and even more specialized applied development of specific social problems are formulated and which need a practical solution at specific stages of social development and in the specific conditions of prevalent social reality.

In our view, substantiating the subject of applied sociology is a major contribution to the elaboration of the concept of the structure of Marxist-Leninist sociology. The author of this article (G.P. Davidyuk) justifiably describes applied sociology as a science "of the specific laws of the establishment, development and functioning of specific social systems, processes, structures, organizations and their elements" (p 131). He emphasizes that it studies the laws operating not in society at large but in some of its specific structural components. Social problems are studied in order to make management decisions. It is also true that applied sociology studies its subject on the basis of corresponding general and special methods, and "is a unity of specific sociological studies and special sociological theories" (ibid.).

The claim that there is a mandatory correlation between any given special sociological theory and one of the subsystems of social life is hardly accurate. Understandably, here the authors face the complex dilemma: How to describe the logical-methodological and essential aspects of specialized sociological knowledge in its unity without contrasting but rather emphasizing their unbreakable interconnection?

Unfortunately, the dictionary is not free from many minor omissions which could have been avoided with more careful editing. Thus, genocide is cited among the examples given on page 179 of actions "of a clearly expressed nature of eliminating some elements from social life." By a strange whim of the author the annihilation of entire nations is qualified, alongside the criticism of scientific views, as some kind of "social rejection." The article on population sociology briefly names in quotation marks among supporters of one of the pre-Marxist viewpoints Plato, Aristotle and others (p 239). This "and others," which is intriguing to the readers, could theoretically include the name of any philosopher, economist, demographer or sociologist who lived during the more than 2,000-year long period separating Plato from Marx! The text occasionally includes unnecessary scientific-seeming expressions, such as "territorial regions" (p 96) or "integrative results" (p 209).

Naturally, these assessments are not definitive. The publication of a first sociological dictionary is a major event. Initiators, compilers and authors deserve our great gratitude. Despite isolated omissions and incomplete parts, this is a highly important and topical publication which will clearly be of great use to practical sociologists.

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## METHODOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF SCIENTIFIC INTERPRETATION IN MARXIST SOCIOLOGY

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[Review by A.N. Malinkin and G.S. Michurin of the book "Metodologicheskiy Analiz Nauchnogo Obyasneniya v Marksistskoy Sotsiologii" by N.G. Magomedov. Tomsk University Press, Tomsk, 1984, 288 pp]

[Text] The contemporary stage in the development of sociological knowledge in our country is characterized by greater interest in the theoretical interpretation of experience in empirical research, acquired in recent years. Increasingly works are being published in which achievements in sociology are considered on the basis of philosophical and methodological positions. The specialists are already concentrating not only on empirical facts but on targets, the methods used in obtaining them and their analysis. This monograph was written in precisely that spirit.

The task which the author set himself was by no means simple: Explanation is the basic function of scientific knowledge. "To explain" may sometimes also mean "to know," for the explanattory process includes identifying the nature of the studied object both through the theoretical determination of the law it obeys and the empirical identification of ties and relations which determine the existence of the object. The study of the interpretative systems used in sociological thinking (most of them universally accepted although not always realized) demands of the researcher not only mastery of the categorial apparatus of the methodology of scientific knowledge but also close familiarity with practical problems and--the most important requirement in methodological research today--an orientation toward unsolved problems and the ability to see beyond extant and seemingly obvious methods of knowledge the new ways for moving ahead. All of these are the unquestionable features of professionalism, and we can confidently say that they fully apply to N.G. Magomedov's book. Nevertheless, the least of our intentions is to turn a review into a panegyric, for specialists and the author himself would be more interested in a constructive critical study of the problems discussed in this monograph.

Let us point out above all, that consciously or subconsciously Magomedov concentrates on theoretical sociology, thereby putting the interpretation of empirical data "in brackets." The reader will not find in the text not only

a study of diagnostic procedures or determination models, for example, but even expanded examples borrowed from empirical research. This makes the problem of interpretation localized within the theoretical "pole" within the range of sociological topics, while practice is cast "overboard." The simplest thing of all is to blame the author for not having discussed many things we would have liked to read about. One can always find grounds for such remarks. The impression develops, however, that Magomedov escaped the bitter fate of the practical sociologist who, after investing tremendous efforts (not always intellectual) in a study, obtains as a result a stack of tables, and suddenly becomes aware of the fact that there is nothing to explain but that, still, one must... In the context of this work, at least, one does not sense a desperate attempt at extracting oneself from the "swamp" of empiricism, so greatly familiar to anyone who has done field work. Clearly, the author looked at this "swamp" from an elevation.

There also is a deeper level of criticism within which the answer to the question of why the author has paid no attention to practice may be found. We are familiar with T. Kun's view that the development of scientific knowledge is more subject to the influence of model empirical research than to that of refined theoretical elaborations. Although this opinion may have grounds in the history of science, they are clearly insufficient for considering practical experience as the dominant source of greater knowledge. In order to become model or paradigm, an empirical study must have an initial theoretical structure. This circumstance explains periods of fictitious stagnation, of obstruction in the development of scientific knowledge, periods during which it becomes clear that the further development of knowledge is related not to its extensive quantitative growth but to intensive utilization and qualitative transformation. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that the full use of empirical and computation procedures have largely determined the extensive trend of research and its orientation toward the broadest possible informative base. A certain change in guidelines is taking place today. High-quality results and their methodological and theoretical interpretation are becoming the main features. Is it necessary especially to prove that the problem of interpretation is the key to the intensification of sociological work?

The need for and timeliness of the methodological analysis provided by Magomedov become even more obvious if we consider that any methodological study of knowledge has three important functions: Positive, or strictly analytical, critical and heuristic. The purpose of the first is to identify and recognize the latent structures of sociological thinking which have acquired the status of system or means of explanation, the classification of these structures by level and type, etc. The purpose of the second function is to indicate shortcomings, standard errors or essential mistakes in their explanation. Finally, the heuristic function opens new constructive opportunities for sociological interpretation. Naturally, the fact that we have classified these functions as relatively independent does not mean that they may function separately, for any one of them is a prerequisite for the implementation of another. The difference in emphasis, however, is justified and pertinent. In our view, the analytical function in methodological analysis is dominant in the monograph. Without repeating its content, let us

consider the potential for criticism and the heuristic possibilities offered by a positive methodological analysis.

The very title of the book is noteworthy in this sense. The author lets the reader understand that at the present stage of development of Soviet sociology the objective state of affairs is by no means such that any sociological interpretation could be considered strictly scientific. In other words, he leads the reader to the idea that there is a type of explanations of sociological views, systems and concepts which cannot pass the test of "real" science. Why? Obviously because such explanations are inconsistent with the ideal of science and the standards of research which developed in Modern Times, when the words "science" and "natural science" were virtually interchangeable. But if our assumption is correct (the fact that it is confirmed not only by the title of the monograph but also by its structure and the author's approach to the topic), the legitimate question is the following: Are we not limiting the possibility of social knowledge when by extrapolating from it the noncoinciding ideal of science we make upon sociological interpretation clearly unattainable demands?

The limitation under discussion is the refusal to see that the unscientific nature of many sociological explanation is by no means a simple error due to ignorance, as may be assumed by accepting the naturalistic ideal of science. In a sociological explanation we are dealing with the interests of the subject, rooted in the processes of sociohistorical practice, which are of vital importance to that subject and which make him not only a "knowing" sub species aeternitatis but also a "social" subject. These interests substantially affect the nature of the arguments and reasons for preferring one explanation to another. It is thanks to (or despite) such interests that the subject of social knowledge develops in a particular way a firm will, the will to recognize (or not recognize) a certain range of items in objective reality. It is manifested at all stages of knowledge, from the choice of research topic to the development of entire trends of scientific research. This is a characteristic feature. Even while the ideal of strictly objective knowledge seemed inviolable, passion (M. Polani) was proclaimed as an imperative in scientific research, that same passion which had been expelled from science since Galileo's time. In broader terms, it is a question of the search for sociocultural foundations of sociological knowledge. It is not a matter of reducing the reasons for errors to empirical sociological explanations for the nonfulfillment of technological requirements because of the sociologists' "inattention" or "incompetence," but of finding an explanation for such this "inattention," which is not accidental in the least. It is precisely the explanation of the extent and reason for explanatory empirical sociological systems which deviate from the standard of explanations accepted in the natural sciences and considered universally scientific that is a major theoretical task of sociology, at the point where the methodology of scientific knowledge and empirical sociology intersect. The answer to this question provides a key to understanding the nature of social knowledge and the specifics of sociological knowledge. It would help sociology to develop a suitable theoretical-methodological apparatus which will be rid of that part of standard requirements which are incompatible with its subject and method, for they were developed within a methodology of knowledge oriented toward the natural sciences.

To what extent does the author of this monograph realize the need for sociology to remain sociology even on the methodological level, thus becoming a sociology of knowledge? The attitude of the author toward this question may be judged by his criticism of pseudoscientific and fictitiously scientific features in sociological explanations, a criticism which runs throughout the entire monograph. In our view, particularly noteworthy is the author's criticism of standardism in sociological interpretations. Standardism means granting the status of law to judgments which reflect not really extant and essential relations within social reality but relations which should be in it by virtue of extant (and essential!) requirements of an ideological order, i.e., of political, juridical, ethical and other norms and values. "We cannot fail to notice," Magomedov writes, "the way in which attempts are frequently made to present legal-sounding assertions, which could hardly claim to reflect truly existing real ties, as having a legal status... Frequent attempts are made to proclaim as laws various principles and standards of social activities and social life in general. This can lead to a depreciation of the very concept of law (the temptation to classify as laws certain principles and standards of social life apparently appear whenever that which is and is essential is confused with what "should be," and when the necessary features of objective law are considered as no more than certain standards governing the requirements of the laws of rational social activity)" (p 11).

We see, therefore, the manner in which a positive analysis develops into a sharp criticism, whenever pseudoscience become apparent behind a seemingly satisfactory explanation. The characteristic features of the latter are dogmatism as a consequence of a noncreative approach to Marxist-Leninist theory, on the one hand, and vulgar pragmatism as a consequence of the desire to interpret empirical facts by mainly relying on ordinary practical consciousness, on the other. In themselves, references to the general biological theory of historical materialism, which includes a system of laws and concepts needed for the profoundly scientific interpretation of social phenomena, cannot automatically ensure the power of explanation contained in specific studies (p 4). We can only agree with this. The actualization of the epistemological potential of materialistic sociological theory demands the elaboration of problems of scientific interpretation on all levels of social consciousness.

In conclusion, let us point out that this monograph is advantageously different from many other works of a theoretical-methodological nature. Despite its saturation with ideas it leaves the impression of a well thought-out and rarely purposeful work written in a simple clear language.

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PATH TO THE READER (NOTES ON THE 'SOCIOLOGY AND LIFE' BOOK SERIES)

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[Review by A.I. Kravchenko of the "Sociology and Life" book series]

[Text] We can confidently claim that today sociology has gone beyond the limits of a strictly academic discipline and that it is exerting a direct influence on the solution of practical problems in the various areas of social life. Furthermore, the quality of sociological studies is being rated not only on the basis of the traditional criteria of scientific substantiation and novelty of results but also on the basis of their practical effectiveness. The principle-minded and constructive criticism of the activities of Soviet sociologists, voiced at the June 1983 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, provided an effective incentive in rating the problem of the interrelationship between sociology and practice as one of the most topical.

The "Sociology and Life" series (Izdatelstvo Mysl) has become a sui generis chronicle of specific sociological studies in our country. Here, as in any other serious projects, there have been successes and failures. Our purpose, however, is not to evaluate individual publications, many of which have been reviewed in scientific periodicals, our journal included. We shall try to consider the series from the viewpoint of its contribution to the interpretation of the most relevant problems of social development. Most simply stated, "Sociology and Life" has reflected with sufficient accuracy the development of sociological science and its strong and weak aspects. This is universally agreed. We shall be interested, however, in the "life" of the series itself, for each of its volumes has its own fate: some become standards which determine the reputation of the science, other simply move on, while others again trigger annoyance and puzzlement. The views of at least three participants in the life of the series are of particular interest: authors, editors and readers. The authors have already had their say and it is likely that many of them would like if not to justify their position at least to explain themselves. Too late, for what the pen has written even the ax cannot chop down.

We shall therefore consider that the authors have already been heard of and will concentrate on the dialogue between editors and readers. Their views should differ in some matters but, unquestionably, should be complementary.

In developing our notes we shall rely on the views of the personnel of Izdatelstvo Mysl, who are directly in charge of preparing the series for publication, and the results of a survey of a small but quite "reliable" group of expert sociologists, who are familiar not only with the "Sociology and Life" booklets but also with the style of research of their authors which, you will agree, is also quite important.

The editor: The first volume with which the new series began came out 20 years ago. Its title was "The Kolkhoz as a School of Communism for the Peasantry (Comprehensive Social Study of the Rossiya Kolkhoz)." This monograph, which described a Stavropol farm, was a kind of tuning fork for subsequent books. The purpose of the sociological essay on the Rossiya Kolkhoz was to make our readers and authors realize that the purpose of the new series was not only to show the results of one study or another but also to make a real contribution to the practical application of scientific recommendations.

We determined the topics of future works on the basis of the requirements of the country's socioeconomic development, taking the readers' requirements and wishes into consideration. We tried to determine the problems which were of the greatest importance precisely at that time, or else those which would become relevant in the future. We have not always been successful. We seek authors on the basis of their published works in periodicals, and send letters to the large sociological centers throughout the country. We particularly rely on the collective of the USSR AN ISI. So far, however, we have received very few good manuscripts from that source. They have sent us most frequently scientific reports written in a dry style difficult to understand by the readers. The scientific standards of such manuscripts are by no means always high. Rejecting manuscripts is an ordinary matter, but our authors take it as an exceptional event. Such an ambitious attitude frequently ends with a total break of relations between author and publisher. Briefly, the editors are chronically short of good manuscripts. In the area of historical materialism, for example, there may be five or six manuscripts per topic, and choices are available. In the case of "Sociology and Life," however, no such possibility exists. The 1987 publishing plan has been drafted, but it consists only of manuscripts which were completed and already submitted to the editors. What does this mean? It means that such works reflect 3-year-old data. By the time such works are published their empirical data will have become obsolete and the readers will no longer be interested.

The solution, as we see it, lies in a properly thought-out long-term planning and a more selective choice of authors. In other words, we must plan farther ahead, guided by the quality of programs and the research instruments used. If they are good and if the researcher is experienced, a contract may be signed with such an author and the information will remain topical when the book is published. We believe that the time has come to resolve the problem of coordinating the work plans of the ISI and the subdivision in charge of publishing the "Sociology and Life" series.

The number of copies published gives a certain idea of a book's popularity. By our standards, 30,000 copies is considered a large edition. However, it would be incorrect to be guided by this criterion alone. Thus, the

unquestionably interesting books written by V.G. Alekseyeva and M.Kh. Titma were published in relatively small editions but are in greater demand.

Let us now consider already published works. Naturally, not all of them are of equal value. Some trigger extensive mail to the editors while others create no particular interest. Frequent contradictions exist between manuscripts containing interesting empirical data and the inept manner of their presentation. Thus, the book by V.A. Chulanov triggered disparate reactions. In our view, the author deserves credit for his thorough knowledge of his topic -- miners' work. Unfortunately, he was unable to present the very rich sociological information he had gathered in a vivid and interesting manner. Other books as well are stylistically poor, those by V.V. Novikov and E.N. Fetisov, for example. We have been unable to solve this problem so far.

The reader: Let us point out, first of all, that the quality of the books within the "Sociology and Life" series shows a considerably wide range. Some of them have become mandatory reading for professional sociologists and will not be ignored by the general readership. Let us name some of them: the books by M.N. Rutkevich, F.R. Filippov and B.A. Grushin, the collective work by the Leningrad sociologists, edited by V.A. Yadov and O.I. Shkaratan, and others. Honestly speaking, we would prefer not to name the authors of books unsuccessful in our view, for criticism without extensive substantiation is pointless. The editors must bear in mind that the readers expect new scientific results, interesting observations and conclusions and, in the final account, practical recommendations. The series, however, includes books in which a verbal mishmash spiced with naive pseudosociological calculations is hashed and rehashed. In particular, we are puzzled by the confused articulation of some authors, which voids useful scientific results. Most important, clearly lacking in the series are problem topics and an orientation toward unresolved problems of our social development.

In some cases the reader justifiably suspects that the series is not aimed at anyone in particular. This is the result of avoiding important theoretical problems and the scarcity of controversial and debatable topics and original conceptual approaches. Is it the purpose of some authors merely to present facts which are common knowledge, avoiding sensitive topics and problems?

What, for instance, was the motivation of the author of the following: "Compared to training in other types of schools, the main type of work of VUZ students substantially sets their way of life apart. School work in a VUZ presumes the mastery of scientific systematized knowledge and professional skills in a specific area, with the help of highly trained specialists who teach in higher schools. The main types of training (lectures, seminars, laboratory research, individual consultations, practice and independent work with scientific publications) require a great deal of independent efforts in acquiring knowledge" (20, p 25). This is from a book by L. Ya. Rubina. In our view, the author of an otherwise interesting work chose to present universally familiar truths.

But let us go on. The most important trends in sociology are not evenly covered in the series. Some of the "blank spots" include plant sociology, new forms of labor organization, family sociology, sociolinguistics, struggle

against negative phenomena in public life, etc. Furthermore, several books deal with the same topic. How to plan this series? Currently, for example, one urgent problem is that of the nature and content of the work of people who service modern computer equipment. No broad study of this topic has been made. However, it is entirely possible to order both a survey and a monograph ahead of time, based on knowledge of the plans of scientific institutions. It has been pointed out that a sociological series must anticipate events.

Unfortunately, a good tradition of describing the way a study was made has not been developed as yet in sociological publications, although the description of methodological problems could be very useful, considering the current lack of good sociology textbooks. It is to be hoped that the series "Sociology and Life" will become a major aid for students and graduate students engaged in the study of sociology on their own.

Let us now say a few words about the literary aspect of the matter. Books must not only reflect the state of a science but also substantially to enhance the standards of sociological thinking. Facts must be presented in a clear and picturesque style. Obviously, empirical studies could lead to the discovery of a new phenomenon but, as they say, "conceal" it. Unless the thought does not triumph over facts but trails behind them, the book becomes a boring protracted reference. For example, descriptions of mass surveys in the countryside account for a large percentage of P.P. Velikiy's book, creating the impression that tables prevail over the author's conceptualization of the topic, and many sharp rural problems escape his attention.

Let us express some specific wishes to the series publishers. It would be expedient to organize competitions for the best books. This would ensure their more efficient progress along the editing-publication line. It also happens that an author would submit a talented book which is refused by the editors, for lack of "space" in the plan, everything having been filled in advance. The author will have to wait. We believe that there should be an editorial collegium or council for the series and, finally, an editor in charge. Officially all of this seems to exist in the publishing house. However, the specialists used for this purpose deal with day-to-day supervision and do not formulate the overall strategy for the series. Yet, they have examples to emulate, above all the books in the "Popular Demography" and "Population" series, published by that same Izdatelstvo Mysl. It would also be expedient to expand the genre features of the series, emphasizing its publicistic nature, making it more in the nature of essays and sociographic works.

The unanimous view of the readers is that the publishing house has by no means exhausted the possibilities resulting from strengthening their ties with scientific institutions, the SSA and SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA. Incidentally, the following form of cooperation is suggested: Let us assume that the journal has published and, therefore, considered a given article suitable. The philosophy editors at Mysl could ask the author to expand the main ideas contained in the article into a monograph. Furthermore, an authors' aktiv has thus been developed by the journal. The editors of SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA are willing to help their colleagues. Selecting authors and establishing business relations with them and other



forms of cooperation between the two editorial boards would be quite promising.

Without discussing the more frequent faults of the series let us note one pattern: One can always find several errors in a good book, whereas in a bad one there is only one: the book itself. We must clearly distinguish between two aspects: errors and faults of the editors (choice of authors, choice of topics, genre, book structure, etc.) and negative aspects caused by the overall standard reached in sociology today (standards of thought and empirical research, depth of study of problems). By distinguishing between these two aspects we can understand the existing situation better and select the proper means of radically improving the matter.

#### Books in the "Sociology and Life" Series:

1. "Kolkhoz—Shkola Kommunizma dlya Krestyanstva (Kompleksnoye Sotsialnoye Issledovaniye Kolkhoza Rossiya)" [The Kolkhoz—School for Communism for the Peasantry (Comprehensive Study of the Rossiya Kolkhoz)]. Mysl, Moscow, 1965.
2. Volkov, Yu.Ye. "Tak Rozhdayetsya Kommunisticheskoye Samopravleniye" [Thus Is Communist Self-Management Born]. Mysl, Moscow, 1966.
3. Kogan, L.N. "Khudozhestvennyy Vkus" [Artistic Taste]. Mysl, Moscow, 1966.
4. Grushin, B.A. "Svobodnoye Vremya" [Leisure Time]. Mysl, Moscow, 1967.
5. Vakhmetsa, A.L. and Plotnikov, S.N. "Chelovek i Iskusstvo" [Man and Art]. Mysl, Moscow, 1968.
6. Alterovich, O.N. "Kulturnoye Stroitelstvo—Delo Millionov" [Cultural Construction Is the Work of Millions]. Mysl, Moscow, 1969.
7. Rutkevich, M.N. and Filippov, F.R. "Sotsialnyye Peremeshcheniya" [Social Moves]. Mysl, Moscow, 1970.
8. Kugel, S.A. and Nikandrov, O.M. "Molodyye Inzhenery" [Young Engineers]. Mysl, Moscow, 1971.
9. Gordon, L.A. and Rimashevskaya, N.M. "Pyatidnevnyaya Rabochaya Nedelya i Svobodnoye Vremya Trudyashchikh" [The Five-Day Work Week and the Working People's Leisure Time]. Mysl, Moscow, 1972.
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## EMPIRICAL AND THEORETICAL ASPECTS IN SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH

Moscow SOTSIOLOGICHESKIYE ISSLEDOVANIYA in Russian No 4, Oct-Nov-Dec 85  
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[Review by A.N. Kozmin of the book "Empiricheskoye i Teoreticheskoye v Sotsiologicheskoye Issledovanii" by Ye.N. Gurko. Universitetskoye, Minsk, 1984, 158 pp]

[Text] Every scientist, whether engaged in theoretical developments or practical research, must correlate theoretical with empirical data. Otherwise, a gap between theory and practice leads to scholasticism in the first case and to empiricism in the second. The faults of "sliding empiricism" are common knowledge: abstractness, one-sidedness and fragmented knowledge of reality, despite the seeming closeness to "specific" phenomena and processes. That is why we can only agree with the author, who believes that the comprehensive and exceptionally complex problem of the correlation between empirical and theoretical features must be studied thoroughly and, in the final account, become a separate study target (p 6).

Although the monograph deals with a broad range of problems, the author concentrates on the correlation between general sociological theory (historical materialism) and individual sociological theories and studies directly leading to empirical results. The solution of this problem largely determines the establishment of a proper correlation between theory and practice and the depth and practical significance of the results of sociological studies.

Marxist sociology has defined its attitude toward "pitting global theoretical against local empirical research as two approaches" (1) to the measurement of the micro- and macroenvironment, indicating that in some cases this is related to the underdevelopment of specific theoretical problems and in others to recurrences of positivistic thinking (ibid.). We are astonished, therefore, by the author's attempt to prove the naturalness of and need to separate the two approaches to the study of social processes in sociology. Essentially, it is a question of "macro-sociology" and "microsociology" (although the terms are not used in this work), each one of which has its own subject and methods. In other words, general sociological theory applies philosophical methods in the study of social relations, while the individual theories are used to study the immediate environment of the individual with the help of specific

scientific methods. According to the author, such a position "helps to avoid some contradictions in the existing concepts of the structure of sociology, the 'level' concept in particular" (p 152). We can agree with this conclusion but only with the major stipulation that the elimination of some contradictions leads to major losses in content.

The author formulates his task as follows: "The impossibility of the logically noncontradictory combination of the general with the specific sociological theories within a single theoretical system confirms quite convincingly the need to distinguish between these theories and their classification within different sociological disciplines distinguished by the nature of knowledge, whether philosophical or specifically scientific" (p 32). The author concentrates primarily on the formal aspect of the matter, which leads to attempts at "ontologizing" some gnosiological problems. For example, he sets the task of determining the objective characteristics of the surrounding world, "the reflection of which is the division of science into empirical and theoretical" (p 15), i.e., into realities in the surrounding world which can be studied either only empirically or only theoretically. In Gurku's opinion, it is possible to apply empirical specific scientific methods in the study of the immediate activities of individuals, "which are a level of social interaction in which individuals enter into relationships determined by their consciousness and "will," and which are, in terms of form, directly personal acts and reciprocal contacts" (p 25). Material social relations (the macroenvironment) are subjects of philosophical analysis (p 27).

The author believes that he is proceeding from the Marxist classification of social relations into material and ideological. According to the latter, material relations determine ideological ones, for which reason the identification of their content means penetrating into a higher substance compared to identifying the content of ideological relations. However, since this concept is presented in the book only as a system, as "ready-made knowledge," and not as a methodological principle, it no longer reflects the entire complexity of social relations. Thus, the simple classification of material relations as part of the macroenvironment, i.e., their description as being exclusively general, without any clarification of their specific features in the individual social subsystems, turns said relations into abstraction. The old philosophical illusion is reproduced, according to which the essential and the general (unlike phenomena and individual features) can exist only as theoretical abstractions. In this light the author's thesis to the effect that "the phenomena of social reality...cannot be subject of physical-sensory fixation" is entirely logical (p 83). Since the material social processes have been classified by the author as belonging to the "philosophical spheres," the subjective processes of human interpersonality relations remain the subject of empirical study. However, the psychologized interpretation of direct individual activities destroys the empirical foundation on which the author intends to erect the structure of materialistic sociology through theoretical and philosophical means.

Social relations, including those existing in the guise of direct interactions among individuals, have an entirely tangible "physical-sensory" reality. That is precisely why they can be perceived by people. The fact that one cannot directly determine the social content from the features of objects around us



is a different matter. Thus, one cannot judge of the social function of money by the chemical composition of coins (notes). However, the amounts in which it is distributed among the participants in the economic process substantially characterizes the social structure of the society. The proper formulation of the question in the study of social relations, material as well as ideological (sociopsychological) consists of determining their interaction on all levels of the social organization of society. It is possible to determine the social content of one phenomenon or another (regardless of whether or not it takes place in the shape of material or subjective psychological processes), but only by correlating them with the whole, with the macrosocial processes in society. This approach offers the real possibility of surmounting in sociology the abstract-general concept of material relations (the "objective factor"), on the one hand, and the local exclusiveness of subjective interrelationships, on the other. Let us note the legitimacy of speaking of the moral-psychological nature of the latter only if the participants in the interpersonality interaction are considered members of large social communities.

The fact that the transition from general sociological theory to empiricism is accompanied by confusing the object of research in group or individual psychology (from social relations on the macroenvironmental level to interpersonality interaction within the immediate surroundings) has its own logic. This is a formal logic which is substantially different from dialectical logic both in terms of the method used in the formulation of theory as well as in the move from theory to empiricism. Possibly without realizing this the author presents the interaction between theory and practice and between general sociological theory and applied research while remaining on the positions of formal logic.

How is this expressed? Above all by classifying philosophical and specific scientific methods according to the levels of sociological theory (the need for such classification is one of the basic conclusions in the book. However, the methods of philosophical analysis must run through all levels of theoretical thinking. According to the author, philosophical analysis is the prerogative of general sociological theory which deals with the historical-materialistic summations of social facts obtained by applied sociology through specific scientific methods. Therefore, the methods of dialectical materialism do not lead directly to empirical studies and are removed from social processes occurring at a given time. Their purpose is to reduce sociological knowledge to specific conceptual views. The author formulates the difference between philosophical and specific scientific methods as follows: "The determination of the conceptual aspects of virtually all phenomena involved in philosophical research is the essential feature of the philosophical approach (unlike the specific scientific study of the same phenomena)" (p 139). Let us add that in his opinion the "theoretical nature" of a philosophical outlook is not the same as the "scientific nature" (p 140).

The removal of dialectics from the "leading edge" of sociological research is the same as rejecting the consideration of means for giving a theoretical content to gathering, processing and analyzing primary data, as a result of which they assume a formal-logical nature. The determination of social facts

becomes a matter of technology and the creation of an "empirical base" a matter of quantity rather than quality of research.

The author, who believes that making concepts operational is the main and essentially exclusive means of advancing from general sociological theory to practice, argues against scientists who consider such a method "ascending from the abstract to the concrete" (p 71). On the surface, his view appears convincing. Ascending to the concrete, if by this we mean not the vulgar skipping from scientific abstractions to specific sensory perceptions (the author is right when he criticizes such an interpretation of this method) presumes the "synthesis of several definitions" and the "reproduction of the specifically spiritual" (K. Marx). It may appear that the ascending process increasingly separates theory from practice, from what is sensory and clear, whereas the operational approach is directly aimed at the conversion from theoretical abstractions to empirically determined references to such abstractions. This obviousness, however, is illusory. Making concepts operational does not indicate where to look for an answer to the main question which every researcher who "translates" concepts into empirical references should ask himself. The question is one of guaranteeing the fullness and accuracy of the translation. The operational approach provides no answer to this question, for it cannot answer a question outside its competence.

The researcher's motivation is a matter of indifference in making concepts operational, be it a well mastered theory, knowledge of the history of the problem (i.e., anything which could be part of the theoretically developed awareness of the scientist) or knowledge on the level of common sense. Making concepts operational can yield proper results if it completes the dialectical method of advancing to the specific, existing within this method as one of its aspects. In the course of "ascending from the abstract to the concrete" concepts relative to the social processes within the studied topic assume a qualitative definition and take the shape of concepts containing historical experience. Indicating the method used in refining concepts is not a sufficient preliminary stipulation in making concepts operational, for although this is absolutely necessary in theory it does not answer the main question: What is the role which the meaning of concepts and the essence of the social processes these concepts reflect play in the clarification process? This leads to giving priority to the formal-logic noncontradictoriness of the refined concepts as the main criterion. Taking out of context isolated concepts, albeit the most meaningful and profound, without attempting to consider the dynamics of theory in its historical aspect can only ascribe a pseudoscientific aspect to ordinary awareness and create a popular idea concerning the intended topic of research. In such cases no real synthesis of "high-level" theory and practical knowledge is possible.

It is no accident that, in our view, the process of making the concept of "labor" operational frequently leads to the loss of its socioempirical content. Empirical references deal essentially with the technical and organizational aspect of labor, essentially reduced to primarily isolated operations. The concept of "abstract labor," which characterizes the public, the socioeconomic nature of labor cannot be directly translated into empirical references, for it lacks the degree of "clarity" which is inherent in the concept of "concrete labor" (although the latter is, in general, quite

relative). The helplessness of common sense in terms of the use of the "abstract labor" concept is quite obvious.

The fact that the author gives priority to the means and methods of interaction between theory and practice, which are more typical of formal logic, is explained by the desire to separate the levels of sociological theory. It seems to us, however, that there is more to it than that. The manner in which the scientist understands the content of general sociological theory is important. Unfortunately, the latter is frequently reduced to a set of general concepts which are considered separately from their historical and theoretical context, assuming the nature of "final truths." Within such a narrowed framework general sociological theory becomes a conceptual stipulation which provides superficial rather than essential guidance to the research process. In this case the content of the theory which shows the history of the process is frequently left aside.

In conclusion, let us note the following. Considering the debatable nature of the questions raised here we lay no claim to the absolute accuracy of the views we have expressed. Furthermore, this review has drawn attention only to ideas in the monograph which we considered crucial. The range of questions covered by the author is considerably broader and many of them have been studied in detail and the viewpoints of philosophers and sociologists have been carefully contrasted. The monograph under review stimulates scientific thinking, making the researcher refine his own views concerning the fundamental problems of sociology. This alone makes a positive characterization of Ye.N. Gurko's book possible.

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## SOCIAL MANAGEMENT. ATTEMPT AT PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS

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[Review by V.S. Il'in and S.F. Frolov of the book "Sotsialnoye Upravleniye. Opyt Filosofskogo Analiza," by L.N. Suvorov and A.N. Averin. Mysl, Moscow, 1984, 231 pp]

[Text] As a scientific problem, social management is studied by economics, sociology, psychology, pedagogy and other disciplines. According to the monograph's authors the studies are being conducted in three areas: economic management, sociopolitical and "human factor." Without rejecting the value of such specialization, they note that it frequently leads to the "breaking into parts" a single process, which sharply increases the need for the philosophical study of the nature of management. The work under review is precisely an attempt at considering the problem from this specific viewpoint.

In Western philosophy and sociology the term "scientific management" is used above all in economics. However, the authors emphasize, a society in which the private-ownership element is dominant cannot develop on the basis of scientific management. Statements about the "scientific nature" of management are aimed at concealing the class coercion exerted over the majority of the population and ascribe a scientific aspect to the system of exploitation and oppression.

The authors consider the conceptual, gnosiological and methodological problems of management on the basis of the fundamental work on this problem in the writings of the Marxist-Leninist classics. The monograph provides an overall evaluation of the place and role of management in the system of human social relations, indicating the manner in which the targets of human activities appear, the manner in which the means for their implementation are defined and the typology and ways of resolving problems related to the reorganization of society are defined. Whereas previously management was considered above all an individual skill, without rejecting the role of the individual and his influence on the course of history, Marxism emphasizes the determining significance of the objective foundation of social management: the laws governing its functioning and development. Familiarity with these laws is an initial prerequisite for the complex target-setting process, and the authors closely analyze the system of concepts which characterize this dialectical



process: the target-ideal and target-result, and the disparity between the abstract and real possibility of attaining them and means for the implementation of the objective, activity programs, accountability and control systems, etc. Socioeconomic conditions determine the nature of the entire management decisions system, for which reason their study must consider the manner in which management relations are coordinated with the interests of individual classes, social groups and types of social discipline (the discipline of the stick, hunger, etc.) which has developed under the prevailing circumstances. Whereas in presocialist societies, where ownership of basic means of production and the political power belong to the exploiters and decisions concerning the most important problems of social life are invariably taken in favor of these classes, under socialism the situation changes radically. The authors, who clearly prove the accuracy of Lenin's idea of the essence of socialist democracy and its great advantages compared to bourgeois democracy, convincingly substantiate the thesis that it is precisely under socialist conditions, the leading role of the working class and the guiding role of the Marxist party that the truly democratic qualities of a new type of management, such as democratic centralism, conscious discipline and a new management style are truly developed.

This, however, does not mean in the least that all management problems disappear under socialism. The authors prove that life steadily raises new problems of a theoretical as well as organizational and practical nature.

In addition to conceptual, the authors consider a set of gnosiological problems of management and discuss the basic levels of knowledge in management (ordinary awareness, empirical and theoretical knowledge), and unity between management theory and practice under the conditions of socialist development. They prove the significance of mass information media and the systems of party and political training, propaganda and agitation in education and information processes. Great attention is paid to the study of sources and methods for obtaining primary information (statistics, sociological surveys, observations, modeling and the historical method) and the formulation of the optimality criteria for said information (accuracy, party-mindedness, comprehensiveness, completeness, timeliness, economy and brevity). The authors study the interconnection between empirical and theoretical knowledge, the unity of theory and practice in management and the nature of some contradictions between them. Thus, in a number of cases science is unable to answer current topical problems of social life (in demographic situations, for example); on the other hand, practical experience frequently falls behind management theory. This applies, for example, to the twin system of enterprise bookkeeping for central and local authorities and the principle of combining territorial with sectorial management methods.

The authors pay considerable attention to the methodological problems of management, such as the dialectics of the subjective and the objective, the comprehensive nature of social management and the role of forecasting. They discuss with particular thoroughness problems of the unity between objective and subjective management factors and the variety of methods used to influence them. They concretize the concepts of the subjective and the objective in terms of the three basic levels of the scientific understanding of society: its overall development, human activities and social management, and describe

the nature of the interconnection between these levels in the various stages of development of human society.

The problem of the objective and the subjective is largely related to that of the conscious and spontaneous elements in social development. Although people have always aspired to have total control over social life, in antagonistic systems the nature of class relations and the narrowness of selfish interests of the ruling circles have kept social consciousness at an extremely low level. For that reason the objectives and thoughts of managers have most frequently been defeated and uncontrolled elements have dominated social life.

In their study of the "element" concept as applicable to socialism, the authors note that socialism is not free from elements of spontaneity (influence of the capitalist world and of natural factors, the possibility of errors in the activities of management bodies, related to the insufficient attention paid by managers to scientific data, mental inertia, underdevelopment of some scientific problems, etc.). However, unlike the situation under capitalism, under socialism such elements are showing a clear downward trend.

The study of the comprehensive nature of social management and the role of scientific predictions in this area are of considerable interest. The authors, who make a comprehensive study of the systems approach as the most important structural component of the comprehensive approach, prove the advantages of socialism in its implementation and define the main ways of development of the comprehensive nature of social management (strengthening the unity of ecological, sociopolitical and spiritual activities, combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the socialist economic management system, taking into consideration the present state of social development in comparison with the past and the future, ensuring the comprehensiveness of educational work, cadre selection and placement, etc.).

Scientific forecasting, the authors emphasize, is an important component of the management process. They analyze in detail categories such as planning, forecasting, scientific prediction, scientific hypothesis, program-target approach and empirical and theoretical knowledge, and conclude that the processes and phenomena of social life must be comprehensively taken as the basis of scientific predictions.

Information regarding some social processes must be scientifically substantiated and should in no case be reduced merely to a single method, for each method has both strong and weak aspects, and it is only as part of a system unified through dialectical materialism that it could provide a picture consistent with reality.

The great importance of this work in the further development of concepts of social management as a complex process which requires a comprehensive approach is unquestionable. However, the authors are insufficiently clear in defining the prospects of further development of management on the theoretical and practical levels. Their interesting thoughts are not always sufficiently explained and taken to their logical conclusion. Thus, in referring to specific studies which were made at the beginning of the building of socialism

as a structural component of the management process, they fail to analyze the very necessary historical data. Generally speaking, a work of this kind should provide a larger number of specific--positive as well as negative--examples borrowed from the practice of social management.

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## HISTORIAN AND SOCIOLOGY

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[Review by I.V. Bestuzhev-Lada of the book "Istorik i Sotsiologiya" by B.N. Mironov. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 176 pp]

[Text] As it becomes established, sociology is beginning to display an increasing and entirely natural interest in its "neighbors" among the other social sciences: economic, demographic, ethnographic, pedagogical, culturological, psychological, juridical and political and, naturally not least, historical.

Could the specific data and conclusions obtained in these realms of knowledge be usefully applied in sociology? Conversely, could these sciences make use of sociological research data? Could we find the type of "intersections" between sociology and other sciences in which, as we know, a "breakthrough" leading to new scientific knowledge is most likely to take place, and "exchange of experience" can take place in the area of scientific tools, benefiting both trading parties? These are by no means meaningless questions, and finding an answer to them is worthy of our attention.

The book under review introduces the reader to the "workshop" of the historian and the sociologist, where the aspects of historical and sociological research are identified. The author compares some basic concepts used in either science and indicates the possibility of using sociological methods in the search for hidden historical information. He writes as a historian in describing the potential of sociology in historical research and compares the methodical plusses and minuses of either science. He emphasizes, to the benefit of historians, the particular attention which sociologists pay to their conceptual apparatus and research program. Taking as examples the study of the features of the Russian peasant community and the attitude of the Russian peasant toward ownership and social mobility, he proves the great potential provided by the sociological approach to historical research.

The author describes the manner in which sociological methods of the content-analysis and other types force information concealed in historical sources to "speak out," and to "tell" the historian a great deal more than in a study conducted through traditional historical methods (he gives the example of the



study of literacy in Russia during the 1797-1897 period). The use of the methods and data of social psychology in historical research enables us to gain a deeper understanding of the features of and reasons for the social behavior of some population strata, such as the Russian peasants, in the age of feudalism.

The author suggests that two ways of application of sociological methods used in the study of past social phenomena be studied more profoundly: reinterpretation of historical data, described in the language of historical science, with the help of sociological concepts; and the study of historical phenomena with the help of sociological tools (p 163). The work includes a bibliography of works on the correlation between history and sociology (a topic repeatedly discussed in our journal. See, for instance, SOTSIOLOG. ISSLED., No 4, 1978, pp 42-52), applied sociology, methods of historical and sociological research, systems analysis in social research and historical psychology.

However, we cannot agree with all of the author's views. For example, the sociologist will question the accuracy of compliments paid sociology compared with historical science in the matter of interpretation of the "social group" concept (p 42). Works in which the concepts of "class," "nation," and "social group" are perceived as being of identical value (only "class" is considered "more important") and works in which the first two concepts are considered varieties of the latter may be found with an equal degree of likelihood in both sociology and history. Neither historians nor sociologists could be complimented for having such an attitude toward the conceptual apparatus.

In turn, the historian will probably question the fact that a complex historical phenomenon such as the peasant community and, in general, any social organization of humans could "fit" into a sociological system. What makes history strong is, precisely, its specific approach to complex phenomena enabling us to see behind the "forest" of abstract systems unique processes which do not fit the existing patterns and demand steady advancement (which, incidentally, benefits sociology). Naturally, it is bad when the historian acts like a "registrar of facts" without any attempt at interpreting and summing them up (this also happens). Here as well, the ability to apply a sociological view of events would be difficult to overestimate. Nevertheless, the controversial nature of some of the author's concepts does not change the general impression of this book as being both of interest to and needed by the historian and the sociologist. Furthermore, the desire arises to read as soon as possible the sequel "Sociologist and History" contemplated by the author, which will be a description of the potential offered by the use of the tools of historical research in sociological works. Without anticipating the content of the "second volume," let us cite only two examples mentioned by the author. The historian obeys the following law: No research is possible without a most detailed study of works published on this topic and their use in one's own work. There even exists a special historical discipline--historiography--which deals with the nature of the study of historical publications.

Officially, this law applies to the sociologist as well. However, a large number of sociological studies are still being made, the authors of which

claim to have discovered what was already discovered, and sometimes simply show total ignorance of previously published works. Equally numerous are sociological works (particularly dissertations) which, at best, briefly mention some predecessors, without making even the least attempt at interpreting their accomplishments and, occasionally, even without acknowledging the source of an obviously borrowed passage.

Naturally, sociology is much younger than history, and understandably lacks history's well-established traditions. However, we must not wait for the appearance of a special discipline on the laws governing the study of sociological publications or until the proper order has been established, which will include standard requirements concerning any sociological study or work! Such work must be undertaken as of now, on the basis of the best examples borrowed from historiography.

We also can learn from historians something concerning sources. A special discipline--source study--makes it incumbent upon the scientist to assume a critical attitude toward any document, fact or material, to assess the degree of accuracy of the information it contains and to understand what precisely the author wanted to show or conceal, and if so why? Detailed methods exist on how to do this, and woe to the historian who would neglect the requirements of source studies. His colleagues would not take his work seriously, and the dissertation applicant runs the serious risk of being black-balled.

It cannot be said that sociologists are indifferent toward the documents on which they base the conclusions of their studies and that they accept everything on faith. The fact, however, is that so far there is no science of the study of sociological data, and every author structures his study of the documentary base as he likes, occasionally without even considering the extent of document reliability.

One would like to live long enough to see fundamental works with titles, such as "Sociological Literature as a Subject of Research" or "Sociological Source Study." Meanwhile, let us learn from the best examples provided by history, our "neighbor."

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## URBANIZATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF CITIES IN THE USSR

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[Review by A.V. Dmitriyev of the book "Urbanizatsiya i Razvitiye Gorodov v SSSR." Nauka, Leningrad, 1985, 256 pp]

[Text] The intensified study of the various aspects of urbanization began, as we know, in the 1970s. By now extensive and comprehensive data needing theoretical interpretation have been acquired. The contradiction between the vast array of specific urbanization studies and the obvious lagging of theory is particularly noticeable today.

What new features does the monograph add to the study of this problem? Unlike the traditional limiting of the concept of urbanization to the development of cities, the authors suggest that this process be regarded as intrinsically related to the evolution of the rural population. The study of urbanization becomes based on that of production forces and their corresponding forms of division of labor. Thus the problems are raised to a higher level and given a general sociological substantiation. The methodological approach developed by the authors, supported by convincing arguments and factual data, makes us seriously question the views of researchers who relate urbanization exclusively to the urban phenomenon and sociodemographic, urban-construction and other important but not essential development factors, and take the large or superlarge city as the standard for future human settlements.

In our view, one of the unquestionable merits of this work is the study made by the authors of the trends of development of different type cities. The history of classification of cities is itself most ancient. It is related to the place and functions of settlements in society. Soviet researchers B.S. Khorev, A.V. Kochetkov, F.M. Listengurt, L.G. Traube, V.G. Davidovich and others have made remarkable contributions to the development of this urbanization area. The contribution of the authors of this work is the development of a multidimensional dynamic typology which not only classifies cities according to a number of characteristics but also gives an idea of the type of cities which convert from one type to another and how.

Unfortunately, this proposition, which is suitably developed in the theoretical section, has not been put to practical use, for the description of the types of cities and the processes within them follows the traditional approach and the selection of the target cities themselves (resorts, for example) is quite arbitrary.

In frequent cases theoretical concepts are not supported by specific facts. This fault is inherent in the work under review as well. Thus, despite the overall description of urbanization, which the authors relate to the development of the village, they concentrate their attention exclusively on the city. In addition to villages, they also fail to mention other (transitional) settlement types. Naturally it is difficult to coordinate all formulated concepts included in a collective work written by authors whose qualifications are different, and to follow it with a specific analysis. However, the gap between a number of essential concepts and the rest of the work is quite striking.

The authors of the section of the social development of large cities have set themselves the task of analyzing the main trends of this process. They study demographic trends, changes in the environment, population health, development of the social infrastructure and shaping the way of life. However, the main element of social development--the structure of the urban population--has been omitted. Also ignored are changes in the nature and content of the work of urban residents, although this section is based on the studies made in Leningrad, an extra-large city and one of the main centers of the country's scientific and technical progress. Said section appears incomplete without the study of the social consequences of industrial development. These errors, which are the result of research possibility limitations, fragmentation of statistical data and other objective reasons, do not lower the value of this monograph. Such promising trend of research, which is of great importance in terms of the formulation of practical recommendations, should be pursued.

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## MODELING THE FORMATION OF REINFORCEMENTS OF BASIC SOCIAL STRATA

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[Review by O.I. Kryahtanovskaya of the book "Modelirovaniye Formirovaniya Popolneniya Osnovnykh Sotsialnykh Sloyer" by E. Saar and M. Titma. Eesti Raamat, Tallin, 1984, 275 pp]

[Text] This book written by Estonian sociologists deals with topical problems of youth social mobility. It analyses theoretical and methodological problems and empirical data obtained in the course of a longitudinal sociological investigation. The authors concentrate on contemporary features of division of labor and social differentiation in society and in population activeness.

The extensive empirical base is an unquestionable merit of this book. The authors provide a detailed study of all-union and regional statistical data and data from sociological studies. This has enabled them to formulate the basic trends in the development of the social structure of our society: the increased share of the urban population with the equalization of the share of urban residents in the individual republics; the priority development of large and extralarge cities and the gradual reduction of the role of medium-sized towns; the narrowing of the area inhabited by the rural population; the further interpenetration between the sectorial and settlement structures; and the reduced share of the employed population (increased number of students of working age, on the one hand, and population aging, on the other).

The authors made a 15-year longitudinal sociological study, the bulk of which dealt with young men and women born in 1948. The careers of this cohort were followed from the day of their secondary-school graduation to the age of 30 (it is precisely at that point that the process of social self-determination of the individual is completed). The study was conducted in four stages: The same respondents were surveyed in 1966 (the year they graduated from secondary school), and in 1969, 1973 and 1979. The main research topics were "Logic and Determination of the Process of Life Self-Determination of Young People With Secondary Education Training" (p 82), "Determining the Trends of Life Self-Determination of Young People From Secondary-School Graduation to Reaching Social Maturity Under the Conditions of Developed Socialist Society" (p 83) and "Modeling the Most Significant Aspect of the Life Self-Determination of the Young People" (ibid.).

The Estonian sociologists have mastered a rich arsenal of contemporary mathematical methods. They study data with the help of correlation, regression and dispersion analyses, time series, trend and cause and effect models and a great variety of indicators and coefficients. It is no secret that to this day the majority of sociologists processing empirical data limit themselves to the use of two-dimensional breakdowns and the formulation of the simplest indicators (by computing totals or mathematical averages), using correlation coefficients regardless of the type of scale, following the "most convenient" principle. In the monograph under review the data processing methods are based on a profound interpretation of statistical means used in sociology, from two-dimensional distributions to correlation and on to regressive analysis. The authors do not limit themselves to the study of tables and correlation coefficients or to obtaining a "surface stratum" of information. They use the analysis of correlation matrixes which describe the correlation among facets of the phenomenon under study more fully than the coefficients of correlation between isolated features. In order to make a deeper study, the authors suggest the computation of the "measure of information" feature by summing up all correlation coefficients and the remaining variables in the block. However, the simple study of the correlation matrix may prove insufficient, for this approach does not exclude the possibility of "obstructions" caused by other relations. Thus, for instance, the high correlation coefficient between the number of children of a respondent and his job status may be determined by the fact that the former feature is closely correlated with his age which, in turn, is related to his status. In order to "clear" the feature from extraneous influences the authors move on to the next stage: regression analysis with computation of individual correlation coefficients.

Despite its merits, such a logic of data analysis has a number of faults related to the use of quantitative methods in matters of quality features (the regression analysis is based on Pierson's correlation coefficients applicable only in the case of interval scales, whereas the majority of sociological scales are sequential; the same applies to the use of time series and other theory of probability methods).

Unfortunately, despite the high professional standard of the study, the authors have been unable to describe the resulting data in an interesting and understandable manner. Particularly remindful of a scientific report are the final chapters in which the researchers have tried to pack as many figures and tables as they could. The reader finds it difficult to find his way through thick empirical jungles. If we add to this the numerous repetitions, that tables and diagrams look like puzzles and that conclusions are scattered throughout the monograph, it becomes clear that this work loses a great deal of its quality as a result of a faulty format although it stands out in terms of the novelty and originality of the authors.

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## DEMOGRAPHIC BEHAVIOR FACTORS AND MOTIVATIONS

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[Review by I.F. Dementyeva of the book "Faktory i Motivy Demograficheskogo Povedeniya." I.Kh. Kirtovskiy editor. Zinatne, Riga, 1984, 291 pp]

[Text] The study of the demographic behavior of the population of the Latvian SSR and the formulation of efficient measures to stimulate the birthrate are among the most topical problems of the republic's scientists. We know that for a period of more than 20 years the area has failed to reach even the simple generational reproduction, that the trend of population aging is accelerating and that there is a manpower shortage.

This monograph, edited by I.Kh. Kirtovskiy, is based on a comprehensive study conducted by Latvian demographers, who analyzed not only the sociodemographic features of the population, the family environment and the employment and social mobility of the spouses but also value orientations, the motivations governing reproduction behavior and the views of the parents on the education of preschool-age children.

Unlike the method of studying the reproductive features of the family by surveying the women, practiced in demographic studies, the inclusion of men in the survey made it possible to determine the behavioral features of both spouses and their specific attitude toward the problem of giving birth and related family life elements. Such was the approach adopted by the Latvian scientists. It turned out that the level of satisfaction with family life of men and women and the corresponding reasons for limiting births were significantly different and required a separate study.

The monograph provides an assessment of the comparative significance of the individual social factors and describes the mechanisms through which they influence the reproduction behavior of the individual socioprofessional population groups. The authors classified the factors governing demographic behavior on the basis of various combinations of social features and identified the factors which had a stimulating or, conversely, a suppressing effect on demographic processes.

The monograph considers in detail premarital behavior as it affects the family, the reasons for marrying, the circumstances under which the future spouses met and the length of premarital intercourse. Also noteworthy is the question raised by the authors of the reasons for remaining unmarried and for late marriages, the factors of family stability and the level of satisfaction with the marriage. The main reason for dissatisfaction--the incompatibility of the spouses--develops, according to the authors, as a result of the different concepts of the spouses concerning the role of the husband and the wife, and the absence of intrafamily understanding. Family consultations could play an important role in resolving the problem of family stabilization.

Extensive empirical data used by the authors confirm the thorough nature of the study. A certain feeling of dissatisfaction is created only by the impossibility of comparing obtained data with materials from other studies.

In analyzing situations which generate and reasons which restrict the reproductive activities of the respondents, the authors reach the conclusion that no connection exists between the average number of children to a family and the level of parental education. The greater desire to have children expressed by men, unlike women, and the orientation of young families toward having few children, determined through previous studies, was confirmed. These concepts change somewhat on the side of wanting more children with age and improvements in socioeconomic living conditions. First among the reasons for limiting the number of children is adverse housing conditions. The study indicated that families with two, three or more children enjoy no better living or other material condition compared to the rest. Obviously, this factor operates in combination with certain social characteristics of the spouses and the structure of their needs.

With their study of the dependence of the generative behavior on value orientations, the authors confirm the conclusion that the largest number of childless families is noted in groups oriented toward professional careers (p 145). In our view, however, the connection should be interpreted very cautiously. Above all it is necessary to determine what in this case is the reason and what is the consequence, particularly in the case of women. In frequent cases it is precisely the lack of family, which causes the childlessness of women, that leads to the domination of professional reasons in the value system.

The study of the interdependence between behavior and the process of shaping labor resources is of significant interests. The authors formulate and substantiate the hypothesis according to which a higher educational standard is directly related to the growth of the population's social and territorial mobility, but inversely proportional to the generative activeness, particularly among women. The monograph studies in detail the features of the social adaptation of migrants and the factors which contribute to their settling in a new place.

In the final part of the work the authors approach the very important problem of population reproduction control. Proceeding from the connection between demographic processes and other social changes in the society, they consider that optimal reproduction within the family cannot be achieved without taking



economic factors into consideration, the development of a network of preschool institutions, perfecting family law and improving the system of distribution of social consumption funds. The scientists offer their original concept on the choice of the basic trends of demographic policy, within which they suggest the following: Encouraging families to have an average number of children, for this is consistent with the generative concepts of the population's majority; give preference to forms of aid to families which ensure the combination of professional employment with domestic obligations; introduce differentiated payments for mandatory leave based on labor seniority and skill, which should stimulate the labor activeness of women and contribute to increasing the birthrate among population groups with higher professional training.

The monograph reflects all stages of the work with the regional comprehensive target program "The Population of the Latvian SSR in 1986-2000" and earmarks means of resolving problems of the social management of demographic processes in the area of the birthrate. The scientific support for this program is a great creative success of the authors. It is no accident that this monograph was listed among the best works of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences for 1984 and was awarded first prize.

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## **SOUTHEAST ASIA: DEMOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS**

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**[Review by A.V. Akimov and A.G. Vishnevskiy of the book "Yugo-Vostochnaya Aziya: Demograficheskiy Analiz" by A.R. Vyatkin. Nauka, Moscow, 1984, 216 pp]**

**[Text]** In discussing his main tasks in writing this work, the author notes that his intention was dictated not only by his interest in demographic phenomena and processes as such but also the aspiration to add to the scientific picture of our concepts of a most complex entity: human society, in which the demography is only one of the inseparable features of the social factor (p 10). It was this methodological postulate that determined, in our view, the author's overall successful solution of problems related to the interpretation of demographic processes characteristic of Southeast Asia and the formulation of a forecast of possible changes in the immediate future.

Vyatkin sums up extensive factual data and brings together information on the population of the various parts of the area, taken from a variety of sources. We know that serious statistical considerations of demographic processes in the area are of quite recent origin, for which reason the initial data are frequently quite scant. This increases the value of the fact that the author was able to paint a sufficiently full picture of population reproductions and migrations in Southeast Asian countries.

Every single figure pertaining to the demographic development of the area in the 19th century necessitated the author's painstaking study of a number of sources. Obviously, an equal effort was required to sum up statistical data pertaining to the 20th century, its second half in particular, when a great deal more such materials were published.

However, this does not exhaust the merits of this monograph. A.R. Vyatkin does not limit himself to describing and measuring the intensiveness of the processes under study but tries to understand their specific inner laws. He formulates clearly and briefly the concept of demographic transition used in his entire subsequent study, which gives it a conceptual definition and supports the profound theoretical interpretation of the problems under consideration, particularly in the study of the central phenomenon of the demographic history of the region during the second half of the 20th century:

the demographic explosion, its causes, consequences and prospects for its end, and others.

The author is not the discoverer of this concept. He relies on the experience of Ya.N. Guzevatyy (1) and other Soviet scientists. However, an attractive feature in this book, separating it from others of its kind, is the organic application of this concept to the very fabric of the study, which makes his presentation more meaningful and sociologically saturated.

The author convincingly proves the conflicting nature of social processes within which the demographic transition is taking place. On the one hand, there is the "unquestionable development of the free, widely educated and atheistically thinking individual... On the other, there is the breakdown of traditional social relations and standards, frequently perceived by man in a tragic light" and triggering a painful conceptual crisis (p 56). Hence the disparity in the evaluation of demographic changes by the mass consciousness and the conflicting nature of the views held by political leaders. This also explains the complex path followed by the Southeast Asian countries toward a demographic policy energetically implemented currently by many of them. The author cites former Indonesian President Sukarno's statement made during the first half of the 1960s: "....We need no birth control whatsoever.... We could feed 250 million people, and for the time being all I have are 103 million. For my country the more children the better" (p 28). Such a stance was not all that unusual for a time when the demographic explosion was considered through the lens of successes achieved thanks to the "powerful impetus of national energy, triggered by the victory of the national liberation movement" (p 26). For it was precisely the improved situation of the people's masses (which, in particular, was also reflected in a lowering of the mortality rate) which caused the headlong increase in population growth which was initially considered a positive phenomenon.

However, the inertia of demographic processes and the slowed-down pace of socioeconomic change resulted in the increased demographic burden borne by society. Governmental efforts aimed at restricting the birthrate were undertaken starting with the second half of the 1960s, and by the beginning of the 1970s more than 85 percent of the entire population of the area lived in countries with an active demographic policy.

A.R. Vyatkin emphasizes that the experience of Southeast Asia "proves the idea of actively influencing the population reproduction parameters without waiting for radical changes in the socioeconomic structure" (p 184). The study of the demographic problems of such an ethnoculturally and economically disparate area as Southeast Asia enables the author to describe a wide range of situations in the developing world and to suggest methods for the solution of demographic problems under different circumstances. We found interesting the chapters on migration and the demographic aspect of urbanization. The close link between contemporary trends in the development of said processes and the successes achieved by the national liberation movement in the area is convincingly shown. The limitations of a review prevents us from discussing these topics in greater detail. However, we must, albeit briefly, touch upon the second most important topic in the book (after population reproduction): the population's effect on the ecological balance. The problem of natural

resources (clean water, soil, forests) and the worsening of the urban environment, under circumstances of rapid urbanization and absence of a properly organized urban economy, are key problems in the developing countries.

The Southeast Asian countries also face problems typical of developed countries, such as the ineffectiveness of many medicinal drugs as disease agents mutate, and environmental pollution caused by industrial and agricultural waste. In the author's opinion, the accelerated crossing of historical stages by nations lagging in their development affects both the positive and negative aspects of their historical evolution (p 110).

In conclusion, let us note the following: Although the book is essentially a study of demographic processes, it covers problems of their forecasting as well. We believe that greater attention should have been paid to this problem. It is traditional for demography to submit quantitative forecasts, the reason being that demographic processes are inertial and that, as a whole, their main outlines are clear. Whereas in projecting prices, financial indicators and even many macroeconomic features the general trend of development must be defined and the values of forecasts may cover a broad range, in demographic processes it is nearly always obvious that the population will be increasing. The entire point is to determine the extent and conditions of such increase. A.R. Vyatkin provides no such quantitative forecast, limiting himself only to general considerations.

The author expresses the questionable thought of the imperfection of demographic forecasting methods and weaknesses on the general theoretical level, which adversely affect forecasting (p 59). The problem, in our view, lies elsewhere. The current level of demographic theory and computation methods is quite high. Lagging, however, are the organization of forecasting, insufficient interdisciplinary efforts and poor group expertise. A contemporary demographic forecast meeting world standards can be made only by a well organized collective, a step which is yet to be taken.

All in all, we consider this book to be profoundly saturated with facts and figures and armed with serious research facilities. A.R. Vyatkin has made a substantial contribution to the interpretation of the contemporary social development of the liberated countries.

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## ANTICOMMUNISM — IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS OF IMPERIALISM

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[Review by L.V. Skvortsov of the book "Antikommunizm—Ideologiya i Politika Imperializma," by S.I. Popov. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 335 pp]

[Text] The practical importance of studies of problems of the ideology and politics of contemporary imperialism is enhanced under contemporary conditions, when the ideological struggle has become sharply aggravated and the forces of reaction have proclaimed a new "crusade" against communism. The characterization of the various forms of anticommunism must mandatorily include a profound study of its social nature, gnosiological roots and influence on the politics of the bourgeois states and public opinion. It is pleasing to note that in recent years such works have begun to appear with increasing frequency. The book under review may be classified as one of them with full justification.

With the help of the most important documents of the communist and workers parties of recent years, and summing up extensive factual data, the author describes the institutional structure of anticommunism, which is a system of research and propaganda organizations, and identifies their ties with the monopolies and the bourgeois state machinery. S.I. Popov convincingly demonstrates the reactionary trend of anticommunism, thoroughly concealed by its defenders with the help of pseudoscientific terminology and various fabrications. Briefly, anticommunism is presented in the monograph both as a pivot in the imperialist superstructure and a specific "leaven" for ideological elaborations. This book is of great cognitive value. It enables us to understand more profoundly the inner mechanisms and motive forces of contemporary imperialist propaganda and the means through which public opinion in the capitalist countries is indoctrinated.

The question of internal contradictions in bourgeois ideology assumes particular practical significance today. The threat of the death of contemporary civilization in a nuclear war triggers pacifist feelings. However, the ruling class cannot systematically support the slogan of the defense of peace, for even those within it who support it do not make a final break with anticommunism, relating to it the idea of the domination of private ownership relations. Actually, as S.I. Popov emphasizes, the liberal

bourgeois forces who support a realistic attitude and detente are becoming increasingly aware of the thoughtlessness of the policy of conservatism and its ideological closeness to fascism.

The critical analysis of the neoconservatism of the 1980s may be considered the most important, the central part of the book. "As ideological current," the author writes, "neoconservatism has its class roots: it expresses and substantiates the interests of the most reactionary part of the monopoly bourgeoisies related essentially to the war industry" (p 106). We can only agree with this conclusion. The only questionable feature is the use of the term "neoconservatism" to describe the ideology which encourages the West's antidemocratic, neocolonialist, militaristic and aggressive policy, an ideology which is deeply reactionary in its sociopolitical nature. The author himself points out, actually, that said concept is rather a terminological camouflage which conceals the extreme reactionary and anticommunist concepts of the extreme right wing of monopoly capital.

Indeed, the ideologues of "neoconservatism" are trying not only to safeguard capitalism in its current form but also radically to change the entire contemporary historical situation, reverse the course of history, abolish the rights and freedoms gained by the nations and give social changes a global counterrevolutionary direction. It is a question, therefore, of a policy of social revenge on a global scale. Today such an approach is typical not only of local imperialist groups or individual ideologues. It is a policy pursued by the main institutionalized units of monopoly capital, influential press organs and information and propaganda centers.

In answering the question of the direction of the "new right-wing wave, the author justifiably notes that reideologization has replaced deideologization, which had been proclaimed with such fanfare in its time. The core of this process is the new radical revision of bourgeois liberalism, rationalism and democratic principles. Militant anti-intellectualism, social biologizing, open racism, the consideration of the nation as a supernatural and supersocial being and the cult of naked force in politics all remind us, in their main features, of the ideological shell under which National Socialism was formed and hatched after World War I. All of this makes us approach with special attention the so-called neoconservative wave of the 1980s and accurately assess its sociopolitical sense and possible consequences.

Today some Western ideologues are trying to find a general historical "substantiation" for social inequality. It is being presented as a basic factor in attaining the ideal of individual and social perfection. In particular, the exploiting systems of the past—not only the period of early capitalism but also the slave-owning society and feudalism—are described as models of "stability" and "correctness" of social systems. Correspondingly, guidelines for contemporary policy are being sought in these ages. The extreme-right theoreticians idealize the principles of the caste structure which they consider the true manifestation of the "organic" society and call for the unification of national cultures of the members of the white race on a so-called Indo-European basis. Such doctrines, S.I. Popov notes, are aimed at justifying the hegemonistic course of the reactionary circles of the monopoly bourgeoisies and substantiating efforts to rally the forces of imperialism in

revising existing borders and committing aggressions against the socialist countries. Actually, by praising the social customs of olden times, the "new right" intends to apply them with the help of contemporary scientific and technical achievements. The author sees in this profound internal contradiction an attempt to combine the incompatible: barbarism with science and medieval obscurantism with modern civilization (p 138).

We can only agree with such a general theoretical viewpoint. In practice, however, under the conditions of the general crisis of imperialism, absurd reactionary utopias could and are actually becoming a driving force of an inhuman policy. This should be pointed out yet once again, so that the reader would not consider the ideas of the contemporary extreme right an unattainable absurdity.

Contemporary anticommunism puts on a variety of masks, assuming the role of "defender" of human rights and fighter against terrorism. In fact, imperialism violates the basic rights of the working person, using the most disgusting means to prevent the progress of the nations toward their liberation. The facts cited in the book convincingly prove that contemporary reaction recognizes no social or moral barrier and that its hypocrisy knows no limits. What is the meaning, let us say, of the attack mounted by the American military against Grenada, proclaimed with unprecedented impudence by the U.S. administration a "noble" act which "uplifts" the patriotic spirit? Innumerable such examples could be cited, and one cannot fail to see behind them a very serious spiritual process: the deliberate emasculation of the loftiest principles of mankind. The dirty work of the theoretical centers of contemporary anticommunism and its entire propaganda machinery are structural components of the psychological warfare being waged against socialism.

S.I. Popov's new book leads the reader to the only accurate conclusion possible: the peoples of the world, all honest people on earth must join forces in an irreconcilable struggle against militaristic reaction and its anticommunist ideology.

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ATTEMPT UPON THE FUTURE. LOGIC AND FUTUROLOGY OF 'LEFT-WING' EXTREMISM

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[Review by L.G. Ionin of the book "Pokusheniye na Budushcheye. Logika i Futurologiya 'Levogo' Ekstremizma," by S.A. Efirov. Mol. Gvardiya, Moscow, 1984, 206 pp]

[Text] This work is a small yet very informative essay in political sociology. The author's study covers two areas: First, the immorality and, second, the social threat posed by left-wing extremist theory and practice. Let us begin with the author's political argumentation.

Leftist extremism and terrorism are considered a symptom and result of the crisis in the state-monopoly system and a distorted form of protest on the part of some social groups, showing up in crisis situations. At the same time, terrorism suits the reaction which makes extensive use of it for its self-seeking political objectives. In unstable situations terrorism in general, and "left" terrorism in particular, becomes a convenient means of fighting liberation, worker and democratic movements. This does not exclusively apply to individual spontaneous terrorism. State terrorism as well comes closer to the latter in terms of political and social functions.

As an "example for emulation" by the most reactionary forces of our time, terrorism also performs a provocatory function. Two aspects are important in this case: First, each terrorist action inevitably entails stricter police measures and violations or loss of a number of democratic freedoms. This precisely is what the right-wing forces are trying to use, as they invariably seize power, as we know, under the slogan of "order instead of chaos." The danger arises of setting up police, semifascist or fascist regimes. Unlike some bourgeois democracies, such regimes can successfully solve the problem of individual terrorism, perhaps for the sole reason that individual terrorism cannot compete with mass state terrorism. It is only then that the citizens note that "chaos" has been replaced not simply with "order" but with a "new order."

The author mentions the second aspect only in passing, for it remained virtually unnoticed until the end of last and the beginning of this year. Furthermore, it would have been difficult to assume such a thing even in



theory. I am referring to bombs exploding in the "sensitive spots" in Europe--the American missile bases in West Germany. This occurred during the period of tempestuous antiwar demonstrations. The explosions were a many-sided provocation: a challenge to governments, discrediting the antiwar movement, inciting the American army which, as it were, was throwing its weight around in Western Europe, and, at the same time, a match thrown into a powder keg.

Quite rightly S.A. Efirov formulates a thesis which may initially seem surprising: Terrorism is war. It could be its detonator or a conscious weapon in the hands of imperialist militarism. "What could be the result of the irresponsible use of weapons, even on a miniscale (perhaps even mass destruction weapons!), if those who handle them worship only war" (pp 195-196). The question may still sound rhetorical but the implied answer is simple.

In pursuing his substantiation of the political aspect of terrorism, the author links his arguments with the tactics of the struggle for the democratization of social life in the capitalist countries and the strategy of the global worker and revolutionary movements and, something particularly important and relevant, the strategy of preventing a global thermonuclear war. The critical gravity of present-day confrontations dictates its own priorities in both politics and science. Previously, philosophers explained the world. The current task is to save it. Compared with the scale of this task, this book is a modest contribution to its solution.

War, the author proves, is not the only idol worshiped by the terrorists. They nurture other ideas as well, such as nihilism, fascism and scorn of human life. I consider most successful precisely that part of the book which "dissects" the extremist's consciousness. Actually, this is the main feature of this work. Its subtitle indicates that it is dealing with the logic and futurology of "leftist" extremism. The words logic and mythology would have been more accurate, and the word "logic" should have appeared between quotation marks,, for it can be used here only in the sense of speaking of the logic of a mental illness, the logic of faith and of ordinary life. One way or another, it is a question of the system of views existing within the extremist madness. The first and main feature of this system is moral absolutism, the fanatical belief of the extremist in his own messianic call, which directly leads to the conclusion of his right to use violence against those who are unwilling to accept the absolute "adopted" by the chosen. "...It has invariably turned out," the author writes, "that the road from the absolute to the concentration camps and genocide was short, and that 'absolutist' idealism converts into terrorism quite quickly and quite organically.... Although all absolutes collapse, any new messianism has always believed itself to be exclusive, unique, final and definitive" (p 94). Hence the extremist ideal of the individual: a robot-like being, totally alien to the "principle of reality," deaf to logic as such and to rational arguments.

Mythology is the second basic component of extremist consciousness. The author singles out several principal myths. He describes the amazing procedure through which mythology transforms classical Marxist concepts and

theses, which are the result of hard scientific research, into grotesque pseudoconceptual structures alien to any type of reality. The first myth is the idea of the "infernalizing" of reality. The social world is presented as monstrous and hopeless. In all of its manifestations it is absolute evil and total fascism, which can be overthrown only immediately and entirely. The world must perish for the sake of the liberation of the proletariat. The appeal to the proletariat and the people is the second myth, for in fact the extremists rely on lumpens, criminals, extremist students, etc. Finally, the third myth is that of revolution, conceived as a provocation on a global scale, threatening mankind with doom.

How to explain the durability of such ideas? How can people think and act without "feedback," without the consideration of reality? This is a highly important question from the viewpoint of theoretical sociology. In a sense its answer is the key to the mentality of messianism, political radicalism, etc. The author does not provide a definitive solution but indicates the approach to it and provides analytical data. He refers to the language of extremism, distinguished by its limited vocabulary, strict ideological classification of the "terms," the renaming of objects (a special jargon), and absence of ways of alternative expression of thoughts. This language encompasses the "logic" of extremism, superimposed upon reality and rivaling with it in the mind of the extremist (as a motivation for action). In reality, linguistic ties are the reflected and accepted ties with reality. In the extremist vocabulary such Orwellian "newspeak" determines a rather specific thought process which resembles a series of short circuits: Fascism(!) - People(!) - Revolution(!)...Gun shot(!). Could this be a case of a peculiar mental or even neuropsychic organization? Our knowledge of the interaction between mental processes and political structures is still rather limited.

S.A. Efirov notes that extremism appears most frequently in countries which have attended the "school" of a fascist regime (it is virtually absent in the Scandinavian countries, or else, for example, in Switzerland, Australia or New Zealand). The author relates this to a special type of personality and consciousness, shaped on the basis of specific traditions of police coercion and fanaticism. All of these are very important problems of political sociology.

I have discussed here what seemed to me the most important themes in the book. Unquestionably, other topics are also worthy of attention, such as the historical survey, and the relative nature of the definition of concepts which compose the terrorist "cycle," such as terror, terrorism, extremism, terrorist policy, terrorist action, political assassination, right-wing terrorism, "left-wing" terrorism, state terrorism, genocide, the terrorism of separatist groups, etc. Such lists are terrifying, and the researcher who undertakes the classification of means of murder could lose his humanism (particularly if the victims are in the thousands). To S.A. Efirov's honor, he has not yielded to the temptations of pseudoscience, but has immediately undertaken to find the nerve of the problem, at the point where politics and morality intersect. Unquestionably, his search has been successful, and the "twilight world of terrorism" has disclosed many of its secrets.

Let us end this review with a quotation which reflects the leitmotif of the book: "History proves that all extremist absolutes have brought people nothing but trouble, pain and blood... The mythologizing of the world is a risky business, particularly when in order to survive people need sober realism in political and social matters... If it is true that the end justifies the means and that anything which benefits the "cause" is moral, it means that the "cause" is not moral and that this "cause" is in trouble! The loss of moral guidelines is particularly dangerous today, for this makes everything possible, which could be the equivalent of death" (p 196).

The book by S.A. Efirov deserves the highest possible rating. Nevertheless, I would like to ask the author a question to which, in my view, he gives no simple answer: could an attempt for the sake of the future be morally justified?

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#### SOCIOLOGIST'S BOOKSHELF

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